

The University of Chicago

THE PHONOLOGY OF
JACOB AYRER'S LANGUAGE, BASED
ON HIS RHYMES

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

1942

By

WILLIAM ANTHONY KOZUMPLIK

Private Edition, Distributed by
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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The writer is deeply indebted to Professor Carl F. Bayerschmidt for his invaluable direction of the investigation, and to Professor George J. Metcalf for his critical reading of the text. He also wishes to thank Professors Helena M. Gamer and John G. Kunstmann for their advice and assistance.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. Dialects

Al	Alemanic
B	Bavarian
BS	Bavarian Saal
B-Au	Bavarian-Austrian
Bg	Bamberg
BgFr	Bamberg Franconian
BayFr	Bayreuth Franconian
EFr	East Franconian
EMG	East Middle German
EMHG	Early Middle High German
ENHG	Early New High German
Fr	Franconian
Gmc.	Germanic
LG	Low German
LMHG	Late Middle High German
MB	Middle Bavarian
MG	Middle German
ModGer	Modern German
MHG	Middle High German
Nb	Nürnberg
NB	North Bavarian
NESwab	Northeast Swabian
Swab	Swabian
Swab-Al	Swabian-Alemanic
UG	Upper German
UP	Upper Palatinate
WMG	West Middle German
WzbFr	Würzburg Franconian

B. Grammatical Terms

adj.	adjective	pl.	plural
adv.	adverb	pres.	present
fem.	feminine	pret.	preterite
ind.	indicative	sg.	singular
intr.	intransitive	st.	strong
masc.	masculine	subj.	subjunctive
neut.	neuter	trans.	transitive
obl.	oblique	vb.	verb
part.	participle	wk.	weak

C. Journals

<u>AfdA</u>	<u>Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum</u>
<u>PBB</u>	<u>Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur</u>
<u>Wiss. Beihefte</u>	<u>Wissenschaftliche Beihefte zur Zeitschrift des allgemeinen deutschen Sprachvereins</u>
<u>ZfdA</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum</u>
<u>ZfdPh</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie</u>
<u>ZfdMaa</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundarten</u>
<u>ZfhdMaa</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für hochdeutsche Mundarten</u>
<u>ZfdWf</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung</u>

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INTRODUCTION

As Zwierzina¹ and others² after him demonstrated conclusively in the case of MHG and ENHG poets, the surest basis for determining the phonology of a poet's language is his rhymes. The present investigation was carried on along such lines. It is a study of the rhymes in the works of the Nürnberg poet Jacob Ayrer (1543-1605) and purports primarily to present the phonology of his language.³

About 50,000 couplets plus about 500 triple rhymes or a total of more than 101,500 lines of verse were examined. This represents every rhyme of Ayrer's published works.⁴

In the study, furthermore, I have attempted to relate Ayrer's phonology to that of the Nürnberg poets Muskatblüt (ca. 1375-ca. 1439), Hans Sachs (1494-1576), Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607-1658), Sigmund von Birken (1626-1681), Magnus Daniel Omeis

¹Cf. especially his 'Mittelhochdeutsche Studien' in *ZfdA*; cf. bibliography. On this point cf. also Moser, §§ 47, 48, 70, note 12; Paul, I, § 7.

²Compare, for example, the studies of the ENHG poets by Schauerhammer, Junge, Neumann, Bloomfield, and others. Cf. bibliography.

³Two aspects of phonology on which the study of rhymes throws no light, namely, the pronunciation of consonants in initial position and the quality and quantity of the vocalic sounds in unstressed position, are not specifically treated in the investigation.

⁴Ayrer's published works amount to sixty-nine plays and one chronicle, all in verse. Sixty-six of these plays were published in 1618 in Ayrer's *Opus Thaeatricum* (cf. K. Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen*, II [Dresden, 1886], 546). All sixty-nine plays, however, have been more recently published by A. von Keller in the *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart* (cf. bibliography); the other work, the chronicle of the city of Bamberg, has been published by J. Heller (cf. bibliography). The editions of Keller and Heller are used in this study. *Der gantze psaltter dautis ...* is one of the two works by Ayrer and the only long one which remains unpublished (cf. Goedeke, *loc. cit.*). The task of checking the *Psaltter* with the results obtained in the present investigation must be postponed until it is possible to get a micro-film or photostat of the MS.

(1646-1708), Christoph Fürer (1663-1732), and Johann Friedrich Riederer (1678-1734).⁵ Considering these poets as representative of their age, I have, then, correlated the phonology of Nürnberg's literary language of the period 1600 as reflected in Ayrrer with that of the periods 1425 (Muskatblüt) and 1550 (Sachs) on the one hand, and that of 1650-1700 (Pegnitz poets) on the other. In support of this correlation, which is the secondary purpose of the study, I have included orthographic "evidence" from the prose writings that are extant in MS form⁶ of the Nürnberg citizens Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), Magdalena Paumgartner, née Behalm (ca. 1554-1642), and Balthasar Paumgartner (ca. 1540-1600).⁷ We have in this correlation some basic material for a history of the phonology of Nürnberg's literary language between 1425 and 1700.

Since the sixteenth-century literary languages of Nürnberg and Strassburg are said to belong to the "standard" Middle German of that period,⁸ I have considered, for comparative purposes, the phonology of the rhymes of Johann Fischart (1550-1590), the most representative poet of that period who wrote in the Strassburg literary language.

A third purpose of the study is to determine as far as possible the dialectal basis of Ayrrer's phonology. By so doing we obviously will have, to a great degree, the dialectal basis of the phonology of Nürnberg's literary language around 1600. For this purpose it was necessary to consult the ENHG dialects of Nürnberg (Nb) and Bamberg (Bg), for Ayrrer lived most of his life in the former city and over twenty years in the latter. It was necessary, moreover, to take into consideration other pertinent ENHG dialects which were to be found in the vicinity of Nürnberg and Bamberg, for often it was one of these dialects which alone

⁵Harsdörffer, von Birken, Omeis, Fürer, and Riederer are referred to henceforth as the Pegnitz poets.

⁶For this purpose only the author's prose as found in the original extant MSS is of any value, for it is a well known fact that during the ENHG period an author's orthography, be it prose or verse, yielded to the orthography of the printer.

⁷Henceforth I shall refer to the last two figures as Magdalena and Paumgartner respectively.

⁸Cf. Wilmanns, p. 214; Burdach, pp. 19-20; Socin, pp. 173-82, also p. 194; cf. also Bahder, pp. 25-31; Moser Einf., pp. 32, 38.

"explained" a specific detail of Ayrer's phonology. In detail they are: Bavarian (B), specifically Middle Bavarian (MB), North Bavarian (NB), and the dialect of the Upper Palatinate (UP); Swabian (Swab), specifically Northeast Swabian (NESwab); and most important of all, East Franconian (EFr), specifically eastern and southern East Franconian. It was likewise necessary, when occasion demanded, to take into consideration the Middle German (MG) dialects, specifically East Middle German (EMG). Furthermore, in order to supplement the information which the above ENHG dialects yielded, the modern dialects of Nürnberg and Bamberg were also consulted. It is worthy of note that these present-day dialects have, in many instances, furnished the sole evidence for certain phonologic conclusions.

Except where a phonologic change was effected by the force of "levelling,"⁹ my study is based on the phonology of Middle High German (MHG).

The method followed in determining the phonology of Ayrer's language is essentially the method founded by Zwierzina and put to use with great success by himself, Bloomfield, Schauerhammer, Neumann, Schirokauer, Junge.¹⁰ It consists here chiefly in determining the quality and quantity of the stressed vocalic sounds and the pronunciation of the consonants following such sounds from the rhymes themselves. When it was not possible to come to definite conclusions from the rhymes alone, an attempt was then made to reach a conclusion by consulting both the pertinent dialects (ENHG as well as modern) and Ayrer's orthography.¹¹

⁹And even here, in a sense, the basis is MHG. Thus Ayrer's blīb, which corresponds to MHG bleib, preterite of MHG blīben, is understood as having MHG ī (in lengthened form) and not MHG ei, due to the influence of the preterite plural MHG blīben.

¹⁰Cf. bibliography above.

¹¹Three plays, nos. 67-69, published for the first time by A. von Keller, very probably were written in Ayrer's own hand or by a copyist under his direct supervision (cf. K. Helbig, Zur Chronologie der Schauspiele des Jakob Ayrer in R. Prutz' Litterar-historisches Taschenbuch, V [Hanover, 1847], 442; F. Ebert, Allgemeines bibliographisches Lexikon, I [Leipzig, 1820], 125; cf. also Keller, p. 3424).

PART I: CATALOGUE OF RHYMES

§ 1 a-sounds (=MHG â, a; also ê and ei)

â : ā 109 da (MHG dâ 'da, dort'; this also has the meaning 'damals, nachdem,' which is MHG dô; MHG dâ early took on the meaning of MHG dô), ja; these rhyme with the following foreign words with -a, presumably long a: Albania, Angelica, Armenia, Baba, Bolonia, Calumbria, Geneologia, Italia, Genua, Luca, Melusina, Pelimperia, Petrarcha, Roma, substantia, Syracusa, Troia, etc. These likewise rhyme with each other.

â : a 1 Secula (â) : geschah (pret. 'geschehen')(a)(3213.21).

â : ô 22;8 See under o.

âr : âr 171;1¹ altar, bar 'Bahre,' -bar (offenbar, etc.; with MHG -bâr, not -bar; cf. Paul, II, § 45 [Vol. I, p. 173]); dar (adv.), gefar 'Gefahr,' har 'Haar,' jar, klar (adj.), par 'Paar' (=MHG â), war 'wahr,' zwar; and these proper names: Clar 'Klara,' Lucar (460.8;1549.21;1565.33;3073.7). Also jare : fürware (3390.1;3403.20). fürwar : thalar 'Kleid' (â?) (557.17). Triple rhyme: har : fürwar : jar (2144.31).

ar : ar 42 bar 'bloss, nackt,' gebar (pret. 'gebären'), far 'fahre,' gar 'gar, bereit,' schar 'Menge,' spar 'spare,' war (pret. 'sein'), war 'Waare,' bewar (pres. MHG bewarn 'sorgen'), gewar 'bemerkend, gewahr.'

âr : ar 207 altar, bar 'Bahre,' -bar, dar, gefar, har 'Haar,' jar, klar, par, war 'wahr,' zwar, as well as the following proper names, presumably with â: Giegar, Lothar, Lucar, Nebucatnezar (1480.12;1558.33;3209.13;3403.13), rhyme with the following with a: bar 'bloss, bar,' gebar, far 'fahre,' gar, schar, war 'war,' war (as in 'wahrnehmen'), war 'Waare,' gewar 'gewahr.' jare, fürware (â) : ware 'war,' beware 'bewahre' (a)(3077.11;3142.9).

arr : arr 2 narr 'Narr' : pfarr 'Pfarre' (2931.7;3066.33).

arr : ar 1 narr : Lucar (1515.10).

arr : or 1 See under o.

¹That is, 171 couplets and 1 triple rhyme.

âr : ôr 1 See under ô.

arm : arm 7 (=MHG arm, arben) arm (adj.), erbarm 'erbarme,' darm 'Darm,' warm (adj.), arm : barben 'Barbe, Fisch' (3185.37).

armen : armen 62 armen : erbarmen.

ârn : ârn 5 gebarn (pret. 'gebären'; inf. 'sich benehmen'), offenbarn : jarn (dat. pl. 'Jahr')(1244.19;1244.24;1920.25).

arn : arn 143;2 farn 'fahren,' vorfarn 'Ahnen,' garn 'Garn,' sparn 'sparen,' starn (dat. pl. 'Staar' [2565.34]), talarn (pl. 'Kleid')(a?;557.2), warn 'waren,' warn 'Waaren,' bewarn 'bewahren.' Triple rhymes: farn : sparn : bewarn (942.2; 2173.35).

ârn : arn 120 gebarn (pret. 'gebären'; inf. 'sich benehmen'), offenbarn (v.), jarn (dat. pl.), with â, rhyme with farn, vorfarn, garn, scharn (dat. pl. 'Schar'), sparn, warn 'Waaren,' bewarn, with a.

arrn : arrn 44 harrn 'harren,' karrn 'Wagen,' marrn (MHG marren 'aufhalten'; 2816.21), narrn (pl. 'Narr'; 'Narr machen'), scharrn 'kratzen,' schnarrn 'schnarren.'

arrn : arn 2 harrn (-rr-); erfarn 'erfahren' (945.12); and narren : parren (=MHG barn 'kund tun,' 1444.7).

arrn : ârn 1 narrn (a) : warn 'waren' (â)(367.34).

arnen : arnen 3 garnen (dat. pl. 'Garn') : warnen 'warnen' (797.14;812.15;1878.6).

arb : arb 8 (=MHG arp [-b], arwe > arb) starb : verdarb (3160.33); erwarb (-rb) : farb 'Farbe' (-rwe)(650.5;BR42.18; BR43.10;BR44.6;BR51.13;BR55.1;BR67.18).

art : art 125 (=MHG rd, rt) art 'Weise,' geart 'geartet,' bart 'Bart,' fart 'Fahrt,' gart 'Garten,' hart (adj.), schwart 'Haut,' spart (pres. 'sparen'), wart 'wurde; warte; war (with addition of -d; cf. Schmeller MB, § 680; also Puls, p. 44); das Warten,' bewart 'bewahrt,' zart (adj.); Eberhardt. wil-faret (subj.) : sparet (subj.)(1792.25).

art : ârt 2 ward 'wurde' (a) : offenbart (â)(992.1;1245.8).

arrt : arrt 3 beharrt, genarrt 'nârrisch gemacht,' angeschnarrt (1331.19;2882.25). beharret : erstarret (1974.8).

arrt : art 7 harrt, narrt, schnarrt (-rrt) : bart 'Bart,' hart (adj.), wart 'warte; wurde' (-rt)(341.16;486.13;865.32;1399.12; 3189.36;3270.24;3313.15).

arten : arten 122 barten, farten (pl. 'Fahrt'), garten 'Garten,' harten (adj.), karten 'Karten; Karten spielen,' postbarten

('Pass'; cf. Götze), scharten 'Pfannen' (1018.21), schwarten (pl. 'Haut'), warten, gewarten 'gewartet' (913.26), zarten (adj.); Hildegarten, Lamparten 'Lombardei.'

arts : arts 10 (=MHG rz, rts, rzât) harz 'Bitumen,' schwarz, and warz 'Warze' (rz) rhyme together 3 times (1095.12;1099.14; 2542.18); schwarz rhymes with artzt (MHG arzât) (1413.32) and harz and schwarz rhyme with words that end in -warts (heimwärts, aufwärts, etc.; to MHG wart beside wért) (1264.28;1275.35; 1279.27;1280.34;1904.7;2971.16).

artser : artser 1 (=MHG rzer) karzer 'Gezänker' : gesesslein-farzer (3004.2).

ark : ark 37;1 (=MHG rg, rk, rkt [with loss of -t]). arg (MHG arc[-g]) rhymes 25 times with the following words with MHG -rk; these words rhyme among themselves: mark 'das Mark; die Mark= halbes Pfund; Markt' (cf. Götze; also Gebhardt, § 115.3c), sark (MHG sarc[-k] 'Sarg'), stark (adj.).

arken : arken 1 vermarken 'zum Markt schicken' : starken (adj.) (2627.17).

arst : arst 1 erfarst : warst (2266.29).

arf : arf 22 darf : scharf.

arung : arung 3 erfarung, narung, ersparung 'erspartes Geld' (2420.3;2812.9;3078.29).

âl : âl 37 (=MHG âl, ahel) cardinal, mal 'Mahl; Zeitpunkt,' gemal (MHG gemahel 'Gemahl'), qual 'Qual,' spital 'Hospital,' stal (MHG stahel 'Stahl'), stral 'Strahl.'

al : al 47 (=MHG l, ll) (l:l [30]; ll:ll [5]; l:ll [12]) al (überall), all (adj.), abfall 'Abfall,' befal (pret. 'befehlen'), gefall (cado, placeo), unfall 'Unfall,' hall 'Wirtshaus,' kal 'kahl,' metall, sal 'Saal,' schall, stall 'Stall,' tal, wal 'Wahl,' zal 'Zahl; zahle'; conventual (BR79.29).

âl : al 125;1 (=MHG âl; al, all) (âl:al [110;1]; âl:all [18]) cardinal, gemal, mal 'Mahl, Essen; Zeitpunkt,' regal, qual; these words with â rhyme with the following with a: überal, fall 'Fall, Sturz,' befal, gall 'Galle,' labsal, sal, stal (pret. 'stehlen'), diebstal, schall, stall, tal, trübsal, wal, zal 'Zahl; bezahle'; Viscal (a character; BR84.2). Triple rhyme: zumal (â) : zumal (â) : sal (a) (698.18). allmale : stalle (3079.20;3081.24).

âl : al : all 1 mittagmal (â) : hofsall (al) : freudenschall (all) (671.30). The following foreign words rhyme 16 times as

follows: Belial (?) : -âl (1624.2); Figural : -al (551.25);
Hannibal : -al (2781.30); pedal : -âl (2529.14); Portugal :
 -âl (6 times), : -al (4 times: 895.28; 1419.36; 1457.8;
 1457.26), : -all (1414.26); Viscal : -âl (BR84.2).

al : oll 1 See under o.

aler : aler 2 taler (Münze) : zaler 'Bezahler' (1374.12; 2189.32).

âlen : alen 13 malen (pl. 'Mal, Zeitpunkt'; 'malen'), with â,
 rhymes with zalen 'zahlen, bezahlen,' with a.

allen : allen 79 allen (adj.), christallen, fallen, gefallen
 'Gefallen'; part. 'fallen, gefallen,' gallen (pl. 'Galle'),
knallen, lallen 'Geschwätz,' ungefallen 'Unfall,' wallen
 (= Wallenland, i.e., 'Italien'), wallen 'pilgern.'

alen : allen 4 zalen (al) : gefallen, verfallen (all).

allen : alben 1 allen : allenthalben (1821.8).

alb : alb 5 halb (allenthalb) : kalb 'Kalb' (2212.18; 2339.8;
 2624.22; 2944.5; 3061.1).

alben : alben 4 alben 'Unterschürze des Geistlichen,' allenthal-
ben, salben 'salben' (703.24; 1222.8; 2988.28; 3085.21).

alt : alt 202;1 (=MHG alt[-d], alt, allt) bald and wald 'Walt'
 (MHG -t[-d]) rhyme with each other 34 times and 119 times
 with the following words in -lt, -llt; these in turn rhyme
 with each other 49 times: alt (adj.), einfalt 'Einfalt';
fällt ein, 'gefällt' 'gefällt,' männigfalt, galt (pret. 'gel-
 ten'), halt (halte, haltet), unterhalt 'Unterhaltung,' kalt,
erkalt 'erkältet,' marschalt, gestalt, ungestalt (adj.), walt
 'Gewalt; walte,' gewalt 'Gewalt,' bezalt; Ubalt, Williwalt,
 and Wunniwalt. balte 'bald' : halte 'halte' (3103.2), haltet :
waltet (728.31). Triple rhyme: alt : gewalt : einfalt
 (3069.2).

alt : ât 5;2 gestalt (a) : malt and gemalt (â) (803.30; 1430.10;
 2380.36; 2479.16; 3015.36). Triple rhymes: Williwalt (a) :
balt (a) : malt (â) (3115.17); alt (a) : gestalt (a) : gemalt
 (â) (3123.4).

alt : olt 1 See under o.

alter : alter 17 alter, halter (erhalter, haushalter), kalter
 (obl. case 'kalt'), verwalter.

alten : alten 177 (=MHG lden, lten) alten, veralten 'alt
 werden,' balden (: verwalten [3414.27]), falten, halten,
erkalten 'kalt werden,' spalten, walten.

alts : alts 3 (=MHG lz, lts) salz, schmalz, walts (contrac-

tion of walte es 'beherrsche es')(2634.17;2634.23;3185.13).

alk : alk 7 (=MHG lk[-g], lk) balg 'Leib; Dirne,' falk
'Falke,' schalk.

algen : algen 8 balgen 'schelten' : galgen.

alken : alken 1 falken 'Falke' : abwalken 'prügeln' (2956.28).

algen : alchen 1 galgen : zerwalchen 'zerprügeln' (to MHG [UG]
walchen, not walken; cf. DWb, XIII, 1245; Schmeller BWb, II,
906; Lexer)(1443.31).

alks : alks 1 (=MHG gs, ks) balgs (gen. 'Leib') : schalks
(3374.15).

als : als 26 (=MHG ls, ll[e]^z) als 'als, also, so,' alls
'alles' (MHG allez), hals 'Hals,' nochmals, reinfals (a kind
of wine).

am : am 84;2 See under o.

âm : am 5 See under o.

am : om 4 See under o.

am : ôm 35 See under o.

âm : ôm 1 See under o.

am : ân 1 See under o.

âmer : amer 8 jammer (MHG jâmer) : kammer (MHG kamer 'Zimmer,
Raum').

âmen : âmen 7 kamen (pret.) : namen (pret.).

amen : amen 41 (=MHG m, mm, mn > mm) (m:m [2]; mm:mm [5]; m:mm
[34]) namen (dat. sg. 'Name') rhymes once each with schamen
'schâmen' (written schemen [2163.13]) and lamen (obl. case
'lahm')(BR23.15); the following rhyme 5 times with each other:
verdammen (MHG verdammn), -sammen (zusammen, beisammen, etc.;
to MHG -sam[e]ne; cf. Gebhardt, § 129.1 and note), stammen
(pl. 'Stamm')(292.26;471.5;609.14;2098.17;2257.8); and namen
rhymes 34 times with ammen 'Amme,' (zu)sammen, stammen.

amen : emen 2 zusammen : prosamen (MHG brôsème, brôsme 'Bro-
sam[e]')(3173.33;3189.10).

âmen : amen 12 (=MHG âm; am, amm) (âm:am [5]; âm:amm < amn, amm
[7]) amen 'Amen,' kamen (pret.), with â, rhyme with namen
(obl. cases 'Name') and schamen 'schâmen,' with -am (671.22;
1763.6; 2036.30;2142.29;BR87.12); amen 'Amen,' kamen (pret.),
and namen (pret.), with â, rhyme with the following with -amm:
ammen (acc. sg. 'Amme'), verdammen, zusammen.

âmt : âmt 1 kamt 'ihr kamt' : namt 'ihr nahmt' (2330.9).

amt : amt 6 amt, verdammt, samt (MHG sament 'zusammen')(1421.24;

3411.20;BR26.8;BR47.18;BR70.12;BR74.24).

âmt : âmt 2 kamt : namst (1922.33;2671.30).

ampf : ampf 1 dampf 'Rauch' : kampf 'Streit' (1094.7).

ân : ân 474;4 See under o.

an : an 665 See under o.

ann : ann 1 See under o.

an : ann 2 See under o.

ân : an 1700;37 See under c.

ân : ôn 336;4 See under o.

ân : on 211;2 See under o.

an : ôn 375 See under o.

an : on 80;1 See under o.

ân : un 93 See under o.

an : un 68 See under o.

ân : ôn : an; ân : an : on; ân : an : un; ân : ôn : un; an : ôn : on. See under o.

aner : oner 1 See under o.

ânen : ônen 6 See under o.

ânen : onen 7 See under o.

anen : ônen 2 See under o.

anen : onen 7 See under o.

anen : anen 13 (=MHG n, nn) (n:n [1]:3185.27; nn:nn [8]; n:nn

[4]:120.34;761.23;1931.34;2450.31) bannen (pl. 'Gebot'),

(von)dannen, fanen (pl. 'Fahne'), fuderwannen (pl. 'Futter-

wanne'), hanen (pl. 'Hahn'), mannen (dat. pl. 'Mann'), pfannen

(pl. 'Pfanne'), schwanen (pl. 'Schwan'), anspannen, tyrannen.

ant : ant 726;5 (=MHG nd, nt, ndt, nnt, mt) amt (MHG ambahte

[366.29]), and 'Verdruß,' geandt (part. MHG anden 'ahnden'),

geant (part. MHG anen 'ahnen'; cf. Kluge, s.v., ahnden), band

'Band,' verbannt, brand, brannt, dechant (MHG tëchan 'Dechant,'

with addition of -t), diamant, fand (pret. 'finden'), vergant

(pres. MHG verganten 'auf der gant [Markt] verkaufen'

[2233.11]), hand, helefant 'Elefant,' benannt, niemand (MHG

nieman[d]), pfand, predicant, proviand, rand 'Rand,' rant

'Wendung, Bewegung' (2753.26; cf. Götze), sand 'Sand,' -sant

(beidesant, allsant, etc., to MHG -samt 'zusammen'), gesandt,

schand 'Schande,' eingespannt, stand 'Stand,' tand 'Tand,'

unzertrant (part. adj. 'trennen'), gewand 'Gewand'; Bellisand,

Brandt, Constant 'Constantinopel.' gesandte : unbekannte

(2218.22); schande : lande (3052.12). Triple rhymes: 1359.1;

1466.11;1715.3;1764.12;1828.28.

ânt : ant 7 hant (3d pl. pres. ind. 'haben'), with â, rhymes with land, genannt, ausgesandt, wand 'Wand,' with a (552.7; 705.36;909.9;1809.31;3217.10;3304.18).

ânt : ont 3 See under o.

ant : ônt 1 See under o.

ant : ont 1 See under o.

ant : unt 1 See under o.

ander : ander 45 (ein)ander, -sander (allesander 'alle zusammen'), wander 'wandre'; Alexander.

andern : andern 33 andern (obl. cases (ander')), wandern; Fländern.

anders : anders 1 anders : Alexanders (788.6).

antel : antel 8;1 (=MHG nd, nt) handel, kandel (MHG kandel 'Kanne'), mantel, wandel (2366.26;2427.5;2733.16;2975.9; 2980.14;2990.5;3284.2;3408.11). Triple rhyme: handel : wandel : mantel (2962.7).

andeln : andeln 2 handeln : wandeln (425.5;1917.16).

andels : andels 2 handels : wandels (704.12;1806.1).

anten : anten 78;1 (=MHG nd, nt, nnt) anden 'ahnden,' banden (pl. 'Band'), giganten, handen (dat. pl. 'Hand'), helefant, bekannten, landen, gesandten (obl. cases 'Gesandter'), schand (pl. 'Schande'), trabanten; bachanten. Triple rhyme: musicanten : landen : schanden (2516.37).

ants : ants 58 (=MHG nds, nz) lands (gen.), niemands (MHG nieman[d]s), stands (gen.), with -nds, rhyme with each other 20 times; lands and stands rhyme with ganz and schanz, with -nz, two times (162.13;2775.18); while finanz, ganz, kramanz (pres. 'Possen treiben'); kranz, observanz, pflanz, schanz, schwanz, substanz, tanz, Franz rhyme with each other 36 times.

ans : ans 5 gans 'Gans' : mans (gen. 'Mann')(16.11;506.28); Hans : mans (3027.14;3073.27;3101.29).

ants : âns 1 finanz : gespans (=MHG gespân 'Streit, Zwist?') (2445.17).

antsen : antsen 7 (=MHG nzen) franzen 'schmücken,' kramanzen 'Possen treiben,' pomeranzen, schanzen, schwanzen, tanzen.

anst : anst 6 (=MHG nst, nnst) (nst:nst [5]; nst:nnst [1]: 3346.22) kannst, wanst 'Wanst,' gewannst (pret. 'gewinnen') (1372.29;2421.33;2623.15;2838.25;3195.18;3346.22).

anst : ônst 2 See under o.

anst : onst 1 See under o.

ank : ank 163;3 (=MHG nk[-g], nk) (g:g [114]; k:k [4]; g:k [45]). The following words with -nk(-g) rhyme with each other 114 times: anhang, bang 'bange,' drang, empfang, fang, gang, klang, lang, gesang, schlang 'Schlange,' schwang 'Schwingen, Schwung,' stang 'Stange,' strang 'Seil,' vorhang, zwang; plus these triple rhymes: lang : gang : anfang (3114.33); gang : prangt (!) 'prahlt' : lang (3110.33). dank, krank, gestank, trank, with -nk, rhyme with each other 4 times (21.28;478.18; 926.21;1842.34). fang, gang, klang, lang, rang 'Rang; Wendung,' gesang; these with -nk(-g) rhyme with the following with -nk: bank, dank, gedank 'Gedanke,' krank, gestank, trank. And the triple rhyme: dank : dank : kindergesang (1278.8).

anger : anger 1 anger 'Anger' : schwanger (2830.10).

angel : angel 3 angel 'Stachel, Angel' (cf. Bahder Wortwahl, p. 128) : mangel 'Mangel' (1285.20;2600.32;2601.15).

angen : angen 381;2 empfangen, fangen, gefangen (shortened form for 'Gefangenen') gangen (pl. 'Gang'; part. 'gehen'), hangen, langen, prangen 'prahlen,' rangen (pl. 'Rand'), gesangen, schlangen (pl. 'Schlange'), stangen, zwingen (pl. 'Zwang'). Triple rhymes: zugangen 'zugegangen' : verlangen : anfangen (273.2); verlangen : empfangen : gangen 'gegangen' (1908.10).

anken : anken 23 danken, gedanken, kranken, schwanken, zanken, Franken 'Frankenland.'

angt : angt 3 fängt : langt 'ihr langt' (1167.17;1933.33; 2032.2).

angs : angs 1 anfangs : aufgangs (gen.)(2856.14).

anft : anft 1 nagenranft 'Hungerleider' (cf. Götze) : sanft (2262.34).

ab : ab 501;9 ab (adv.), gab (pret. 'geben'), grab, hab 'Habe; habe,' gehab 'gehabe,' knab, lab 'labe,' schabab (MHG scha-ben[+abe] 'weg stossen'), stab 'Stab.'

ab : âb 49 (=MHG âb, âw) ab, gab (part.), hab, stab, with a, rhyme 28 times with the following with -âb : gab 'Gabe' and schwab 'Schwabe' (BR39.3). ab, hab, schabab 'stosse,' trab 'böhmischer Söldner' (to MHG draben 'traben, reiten'; cf. Götze), with -ab, rhyme 21 times with the following with -âw (written 19 times as -ab) : blau (507.5;2381.5), himmelblau (232.29;1799.33;1898.30;2473.28;2806.32;3057.1;3343.23), grau (742.22;961.27;1230.32;2391.13;2392.18;2603.17;2645.15;2837.7;

2870.26;3045.19), pfau 'Pfau' (298.23;3001.9).

ap : ap 1 schlap (?) : habt (with loss of -t) (2944.7).

app : âp 1;2 lapp 'einfältiger Mensch' (a) : dapp 'ungeschickter Mensch' (to MHG tâpe 'Tatze') (2931.4). Triple rhymes: kapp 'Kappe,' lapp (a) : dapp (â) (3072.14;3118.26).

aber : âber 1 liebhaber (a) : begaber (â) (BR57.4).

abel : abel 1 fabel : gabel (2396.36).

aben : aben 182;1 graben, haben, erhaben (adj.), knaben, laben, raben, schaben 'stossen,' traben 'reiten, gehen.' Triple rhyme: haben : eingraben : laben (1160.28).

aben : âben 82;1 (=MHG âben, âwen) ergraben, haben, knaben, laben, with a, rhyme 81 times with gaben (pret.; pl. 'Gabe') and schwaben 'die Schwaben' (55.8;436.18;439.22;523.22;591.16; BR47.4). haben (ab) : pfaben (âw) (dat. pl. MHG phâwe 'Pfau') (1931.32). Triple rhyme: haben (a) : traben (a) : begaben (â) (457.31).

aben : oben 3 See under o.

abung : abung 1 labung : handhabung (2560.22).

appen : appen 7 kappen, klappen, lappen, sappen 'ergreifen,' schnappen.

appen : âpen 7 kappen, klappen, lappen, sappen, with -app-, rhyme with dildappen (MHG dieletâpe 'plumper Mensch') and ertappen 'erwischen' (to MHG tâpe 'Tatze'; cf. Paul, II, § 44) (214.17;409.3;1952.8;2528.15;2937.12;2953.14;2958.30).

apt : apt 2 (=MHG bt, bb[e]t) abt (MHG abbet), habt, gehabt, gelabt (962.7;1196.4).

apt : âpt 23 (=MHG abt, âbt, âpt) abt, habt, gehabt, with a, rhyme 10 times with gabt 'ihr gabt' and 14 times with ertapt, both with -â.

appet : appet 1 sappet (part. MHG sappen 'plump und schwerfällig einhergehen') : lappet (part. MHG lappen 'mit zerrissenen Kleidern versehen') (3083.11).

âpst : apst 4 (=MHG bst, bes[+t]) babst (MHG bâbes[t]) 'Papst' : habst (subj.) (455.15;476.16;476.28;480.2).

ât : ât 648;4 (=MHG d, t) The following words with -t rhyme 469 times among themselves: doctorat, unflat, gat 'geht,' hat 'hat,' mandat, mayestat, ornat, prelat, rat 'Rat; rate,' gerat 'gerate,' heytrat 'Heirat,' salat, senat, spat (MHG adv. spâte, spât 'spät'), stat 'steht,' verstat 'versteht,' tat 'Tat,' tractat, wat (MHG wât 'Kleidung'); admurat 'Türkischer

Offizier,' Goliat (3213.17). gat, hat, mayestat, prelat, rat, gerat, spat, tat 'Tat' with -ât, rhyme 179 times with various forms of the word gnad (MHG genâde [begnad, ungnad, etc.]). Triple rhymes: 511.27;3045.9;3046.29;3047.17.

at : at 35 (=MHG d, t) (at:at [6]; ad:ad [13]; at:ad [15])
bad 'Bad,' bat (pret. 'bitten'), blat 'Blatt,' glat 'eben,'
grad 'gerade,' lad 'lade ein,' mat 'schwach,' ausgemat 'ge-
schwächt,' fusspfad, rad 'Rad,' schad 'Schaden; schade,' ge-
schadt 'geschadet,' stat 'Stätte, Stadt, Ort, Platz'; Cunrad,
episcopat, Wilbad (a place). bladet 'beladet' : schadet
(2441.18).

ât : at 500;7 (ât:at [390]; ât:ad [62]; âd:at [37]; âd:ad [11])
unflat, gat 'geht,' gnad, ungnad, hat, legat, mandat, mayestat,
ornat, rat, salat, senat, spat, tat 'Tat,' wat 'Kleindung';
these words with -ât or -âd rhyme with the following with -at
or -ad: bad, bat, blat, glat, grad, lad, mat, ausgemat, rad,
schad, stat 'Stadt,' bestat 'bestatte,' gestad 'Gestade';
Cunrad; Budestat, Eichstat, Halberstat, Carlsbad, Moserad,
Türingstat. Triple rhymes: 235.22;744.31;1477.30;1797.17;
1876.6;3044.35;3113.25.

ât : ôt 22 See under o.

ât : ot 3 See under o.

at : ôt 1 See under o.

âter : âter 1 (=MHG t) nater 'Natter' : übeltater (505.1).

ater : ater 5 (=MHG d, t) hader 'Zank' : vater, gevater
(1050.17;1516.29;2475.26;3354.33;3362.20).

âter : ater 27 (=MHG t) nater, pater, woltater, with â, rhyme
with vater (a). gubernator (with a?) : vater (2462.8).

adern : adern 1 aufladern (dat. pl. 'Auflader' = 'Packknecht';
cf. DWb) : scheisschadern 'Scheisslumpen' (538.32).

atern : atern 1 schnatern (dat. pl. MHG snater 'Geschwätz') :
gevatern (2651.13).

adern : âdern 1 badern (dat. pl. 'Bader') : baurnadern (=MHG
brunnâder [>bûrn-âder] 'Quellader') (2645.3).

adel : adel 5 adel : tadel (548.33;543.6;2124.30); adel : zadel
(MHG zâdel 'Mangel') (2856.4); Gebstatel (a place) : adel
(BR84.14).

âten : âten 49 (=MHG d, t) baten (pret. 'bitten'), braten,
gnaden, taten (pl. 'Tat'); advocaten, ducaten, prelaten,
potentaten, soldaten.

aten : aten 76 (=MHG -den, -dem, -ten) baden 'baden,' faden (MHG vadem 'Faden'), gaden (MHG gadem 'Haus'), laden 'Laden; einladen,' schaden, staten (von statten).

âten : aten 147 (=MHG â, t) braten, gebraten 'Gebratenes,' gnaden, raten, taten (pl. 'Tat'); advocaten, ducaten, prelaten. These words with â rhyme with the following with a: baden, faden, fladen (MHG vladen 'breiter dünner Kuchen'), gaden, laden, pfaden, schaden, schaten 'Schatten,' staten (von statten), waten 'waten; schreiten.'

âts : âts 1 rats (gen. 'Rat') : senats (gen.) (264.22).

ats : ats 25;1 (=MHG az) fratz, schweinhatz 'Wildschweinjagd,' katz, latz 'Band, Fessel,' pechbatz 'Pechklumpe,' platz, schwatzblatt 'Schwätzer' (?), ratz 'Tatze,' schatz, widersatz, tratz 'Trotz'; supplicatz. Triple rhyme: latz : schatz : tratz (2308.11).

atsen : atsen 17 (=MHG az) batzen 'kleine Berner Münze,' pechbatzen, fatzen 'verspotten,' fratzen 'sich albern machen,' katzen, kratzen, platzen 'Platz machen,' ratzen, schmatzen, schwätzen.

atst : atst 1 angeplatzt : zerkratzt (2434.11).

ag : ag 349;5 hag (MHG hag 'Gebüsch'), klag, lag (pret. 'liegen'), mag, sag, absag 'Abbitte,' schlag, vorschlag, tag, trag 'trage,' vortrag, zag 'zaghaft,' verzag; Prag. klage, sage, tage (3087.2;3150.32). Triple rhymes: 269.34;291.31;1904.32;3045.21;3230.22.

ak : ak 11 hack 'hacke ab,' pack 'pack dich weg,' sack, schnack 'Schwätzer,' erschrack, sprack 'Sprache' (571.8), stack (pret. st. vb. 'stecken') (2781.18). (?) sack : stack : klagt (3065.35).

âg : ag 40 frag, auflag 'Entschuldigung,' niderlag, plag, wag 'wage'; these words with â rhyme with the following with a: klag, jag 'jage,' mag, sag, anschlag, tag, trag.

ag : ak 3 mag, tag : nack 'Nacken,' sack (552.3;2239.6;2394.9).

ag : âch 64;1 lag, mag, sag, schlag, tag, trag; these with -ag rhyme with the following with -âch: gemach 'Gemach; gemacht,' geschach 'geschah,' sach 'Sache'; (pret.) 'sehen,' schwach, sprach, stach. Triple rhyme: gemach : schwach : tag (1667.24).

âg : âch 11;1 frag, plag, wag, with -âg, rhyme with nach, with -âch. Triple rhyme: plag : nach : schmach (3122.36).

ag : âch 192 hag, klag, lag, sag, schlag, tag, trag; these

words with -ag rhyme with the following with -âch: fach
 'fange' (to MHG vâhen), nach, rach 'Rache,' schmach. Triple
 rhymes: -ag : -ag : -âch (1076.26; 1428.2; 2223.4; 2275.21;
 2700.2); -ag : -âch : -âch (1994.22; 3117.15).

âg : ach 2 frag (âg) : gemach (ach) (2340.29; 3315.24).

ager : ager 6 lager 'Lager,' (mârlein) sager, (hund) schlager,
 (brief) trager (132.8; 1312.25; 1444.23; 2286.32; 2959.25; 2963.15).

ager : âger 1 mager (a) : schwager (â) (57.1).

ager : agen 1 trumelschlager : tragen (2963.27).

akel : akel 1 fackel : tabernackel (BR83.2).

ageln : ageln 1 nageln 'nâgeln' : gageln 'gaukelnd baumeln'
 (cf. DWb) (262.28).

agen : agen 1239;5 jagen, klagen, kragen, magen 'Bauch,' nagen
 'schimpfen,' sagen, schlagen, tagen, tragen, wagen 'Wagen,'
zagen, zwagen 'prügeln' (to MHG twahen, dwahen 'waschen, ba-
 den'; cf. DWb for meaning 'prügeln'); Baurnhagen, Themagen
 (persons). Triple rhymes: 137.13; 591.4; 997.16; 1277.22;
 1348.3. (?) tagen : aufladen (3372.1).

âgen : âgen 1 wagen 'wagen' : nachfragen (1834.10).

agen : âgen 298;3 jagen, klagen, kragen, magen, sagen, schlagen,
tagen, zagen; Themagen. These words with a rhyme with the
 following with â: fragen, lagen, plagen, wagen 'wagen.'

agen : ogen 1 See under o.

aken : aken 5 backen (pl. 'Backe'), hacken, knacken, nacken,
packen, zwacken (126.30; 141.7; 252.33; 2286.30; 3354.20).

agt : agt 54 jagt, klagt, genagt, sagt, beratschlagt, verzagt.
verzaget : saget (1130.31).

âgt : âgt 2 plagt : wagt (3245.16; 3259.28).

agt : âgt 34;1 klagt, sagt, verzagt, with a, rhyme with gefragt,
plagt, wagt, with â. klaget : geplaget (3140.1). Triple
 rhyme: unverzagt (a) : klagt (a) : gefragt (â) (3042.32).

agt : akt 5 klagt, sagt : contract, pact (428.27; 830.25; 927.25;
 1375.7; 2330.30).

âgt : akt 1 gefragt : pact (503.34).

agt : acht 2;1 jagt 'Jagd' : acht, macht (824.19; 958.19).

Triple rhyme: jagt : nacht : macht (3069.29).

agt : âcht 1 jagt (a) : heimgebracht (â) (981.32).

agten : agten 1 klagten : sagten (1667.35).

agten : âgten 1 sagten (a) : plagten (â) (1193.17).

aks : aks 6 (=MHG hs, ks) (hs:hs [2]; ks:ks [1]; hs:ks [3])

zotifax (MHG zotvahs 'zottiges Haupthaar'), ungemachs, wax (MHG wahs 'Wachs'), erwachs, stracks; Harpax (829.4;1214.33; 1302.20;1770.7;2406.33;2639.21).

aksen : aksen 10 (=MHG hsen) ungelachsen 'ungeschlacht,' Sachsen 'Sachsenland; Hans Sachs,' wachsen.

agst : agst 6 klagst, magst, sagst, abschlagst (pres. subj.).

agst : âgst 1 sagst (a) : plagst (â)(3196.27).

ahel : ahel 1 ehegemahel : stahel (MHG stahel 'Stahl')(3337.32).

âhen : âhen 1 nahen : anfahen 'anfangen' (67.30).

âhen : agen 4 fahen 'fangen,' empfahen 'empfangen,' nahen with â, rhyme with schlagen (written with -g and -h; =MHG slâhen, slân; the form schlagen is new formation to the pret. and part. with -g)(607.10;843.20;3291.32;3298.16).

âch : âch 27 (=MHG h, ch) (ch:ch [18]; ch:h [9]) fach 'fange,' jach (MHG gâch 'eilig'), nach, rach, schmach.

ach : ach 65 (=MHG h, ch) (ch:ch [55]; ch:h [10]) bach 'Bach; backe,' brach, gemach, geschach 'geschah,' lach, mach, sach 'Sache; sah,' schwach, sprach, drach 'Drache,' wach 'Wache,' zweifach; Cronach.

âch : ach 71 (=MHG âch, âh; ach, ah) (âch:ach [62]; âh:ach [2]; âch:ah [7]) fach 'fange,' nach, rach, schmach, with â, rhyme with the following with a: bach, gemach, mach, sach 'Sache; sah,' schwach, sprach, zweifach; Grundlach, Eberach, Syrach, Villach.

achen : achen 279 (=MHG ch) bachen 'Schinken; backen,' gemachen, krachen, lachen, machen, sachen 'Sachen,' schwachen, drachen, wachen.

achen : âchen 5 machen and drachen (a) : rachen (â)(1096.20; 1125.8;1156.17;1306.25;1624.16).

achen : eichen 1 machen : zeichnen 'Zeichen' (2932.32).

âcht : âcht 76 bracht 'brachte; gebracht,' dacht 'dachte; gedacht,' spracht 'ihr sprach.'

acht : acht 216;2 acht, kracht, lacht, macht, nacht, pracht, schlacht, geschlacht 'zahm,' tracht 'Tracht'; wacht. achtet : trachtet (2541.31); machtet : lachtet (3100.10;3118.9). Triple rhymes: 16.18;537.32.

âcht : acht 296;9 bracht, dacht, empfacht 'empfängt' (2135.12), with â, rhyme with the following with a: acht, lacht, macht, nacht, pracht, schlacht, tracht, wacht. Triple rhymes: â : â : a (2014.6); â : a : a (8 times). anbracht 'angebracht' :

hart (2901.32).

achten : achten 14 achten, machten, schlachten.

achten : âchten 4 achten, schlachten (a) : verschmachten (pret. 'verschmähen') (â) (766.17; 775.2; 2035.11; 2742.28).

achst : achst 5 (=MHG ch+st) achst, lachst, machst (75.27; 2381.8; 2631.10; 2995.19; 3156.30).

agst : achst 1 magst (a) : versprachst (a) (1459.15).

âs : âs 2 (=MHG s, z) mass (z) : strass (z) (1795.1); lass 'lasse' (z) : as 'Aas' (s) (539.4).

as : as 80;3 (=MHG s, z) (s:s [7]; z:z [29]; s:z [44]) bass 'besser,' blass 'kahl,' blass, 'dass' (both pronoun 'das' and conj. 'dass'), fass, glas, gras, has 'Hase,' hass 'Hass,' las (pret. 'lesen'), nass, genas (pret. 'genesen'), nefas (a?), sass (pret. 'sitzen'), vergass (pret. 'vergessen'), was (pret. MHG wësen), wass (with z; 'was; etwas'); Helmas, Pitagoras; Elsas(s). hase 'Hase' : sase 'sass' (2142.4). Triple rhymes: bass : dass : bass (3045.16); dass : nass : gras (2611.25); nass : bass : was (pret. wësen) (3117.10).

âs : as 72;3 (=MHG as, az; âs, âz) (âz:az [68]; âz:as [4]) lass 'lasse,' ablass 'Ablass; abgelassener junger Wein, Most,' anlass 'Anlass,' mass, strass; these words with âz rhyme with the following with as and az: bass, dass, fass, gras, hass, nass, pas(s) 'Pass,' was 'war,' wass 'etwas.' Triple rhymes: strass (â) : fass (a) : bass (a) (1656.22); lass (â) : bass (a) : dass (a) (3116.19); mass (âz) : vergass (az) : was (as) 'war' (2609.32).

âs : ôs 3 See under o.

aser : aser 7 (=MHG zz) basser (unmutated form of MHG bezzzer), nasser, triefnasser 'so nass, dass es trieft' (cf. DWb), was-ser (223.10; 406.33; 510.21; 626.27; 1464.31; 1762.21; 2864.35).

âsen : âsen 124;1 (=MHG s, z) (z:z [102]; z:s [12]) assen (pret. 'essen'), lassen, massen, dermassen, sassen, strassen, vergassen; these words have MHG z. lassen and strassen, with z, rhyme 12 times with blasen, with s. Triple rhyme: stras-sen : anmassen : lassen (2257.11).

asen : asen 3 (=MHG s, zz) (s:s [2]; zz:zz [1]) begrasen 'füt-tern,' hasen, and nasen (obl. case 'Nase'), with s, rhyme to-gether 2 times (2380.32; 2950.17); gassen (dat. sg. 'Gasse') rhymes with auffassen, both with zz (3267.27).

âsen : asen 52 (=MHG âs, âz; as, azz) (âs:as [1]; âs:azz [1];

âz:as [11]; âz:az̥ [39]) blasen (âs) : hasen (as)(2285.16); aufblasen (âs) : gassen (pl. 'Gasse')(az̥)(761.21); lassen and strassen, with âz̥, rhyme with the following with as: erblasen (to MHG blas 'kahl, bleich, blass'), fasen (to MHG vase 'Faser'), begrasen, hasen, nasen; finally, lassen, dermassen, strassen, with âz̥, rhyme with the following with az̥: fassen, gassen, hassen.

âsen : ösen 30 See under o.

âst : ât 5 gast 'gehst,' hast, last 'ihr lasst,' angemast 'angemasst' (269.5;1622.16;2453.33;2688.3;3225.21).

ast : ast 20 (=MHG st, zt) bast (unmutated form of MHG beste), fantast, fast, angefasst, gast 'Gast,' hasst (to 'hassen'), last 'Laster,' palast, rast 'Rast,' überrast 'überrastet'; Gerngast, Überlast (persons)(2476.24). verbrasset (to brassen, prassen 'schwelgen, saufen'; cf. DWb) : gehasset 'gehasst' (3383.10).

âst : ast 41;1 hast and last (to 'lassen'), with â, rhyme with the following with a: ast 'Ast,' fast, verfasst, gast 'Gast,' last 'Laster,' palast, rast, gerast 'gerastet,' antast 'angetastet.' Triple rhyme: hast (â) : einlast (â) : gast 'Gast' (a)(3110.4).

âst : öst 1 See under o.

aster : eister 1 laster 'Laster' : burgemeister (260.22).

astern : astern 1 lastern : pflastern (209.4).

asten : asten 21 basten (unmutated form of MHG besten), fantasten, fasten, kasten, verlasten 'mit einer Last beladen,' rasten, antasten.

asch : asch 2 erhasch 'ergreife,' tasch 'Tasche,' wasch, gezasch 'Schleppen' (cf. DWb)(2264.22;2491.26).

aschen : aschen 34 aschen, flaschen, haschen, naschen, taschen, waschen.

âf : âf 11 (=MHG f; v) graf, schaf 'Schaf,' schlaf 'Schlaf; schlafe,' straf 'Strafe; strafe.'

af : af 2 af (Low German 'ab') : haf (Low German 'habe')(555.5); verklaff 'verschwätzen' : schaff (imperative 'schaffen') (500.20).

âf : af 17 (=MHG âf; af, aff) (âf:af [14]; âf:aff [3];171.14; 1292.30;3377.8) graf, schaf, schlaf, straf, with â, rhyme with schaff and traf (pret. 'treffen'), with a.

af : of 1 See under o.

- âfen : âfen 29 (=MHG f; v) grafen, schlafen, strafen, trafen,
waffen (MHG wâfen 'Waffen').
- afen : afen 42;1 (=MHG ff; v) (ff:ff [41]; ff:v [1]) affen,
gaffen, hafen (MHG haven 'Hafen'; 3150.1), klaffen 'ver-
 schwätzen,' pfaffen, schaffen. Triple rhyme: pfaffen : schaf-
fen : gaffen (2999.16).
- âfen : afen 55 (=MHG âv, âf; av, aff) (âf:av [1]; âv,âf:aff
 [54]) grafen, schlafen, strafen, waffen, with â, rhyme with
 the following with a: affen, gaffen, hafen (1123.19), klaffen,
pfaffen, schaffen.
- aft : aft 23 (=MHG ft, fft) gafft, -haft (sesshaft, etc.),
behaft (part. MHG beheften 'einschliessen, belagern'), kraft,
-schaft (nachbarschaft, etc.), geschafft.
- âft : aft 18 straft (pres. 'strafen'), with â, rhymes with be-
haft, -schaft, geschafft, with a.
- apfen : apfen 1 krapfen (pl. MHG krapfe 'eine Art Backwerk') :
zapfen 'Zapfen' (2539.5).

§ 2 e-sounds (=MHG âe, ê, ôe, ä,
ë, ê, ö; also ü, üe, and i)

- ê : ê 108;2 e 'Ehe; ehe,' ge 'gehe,' me 'mehr,' ste 'stehe,'
we 'Wehe; weh'; "b," "c" (letters of the alphabet; with ê?);
Sciole (a character), Surie (a place). Triple rhymes: ste :
ge : we (3044.24; 3122.30).
- âer : âer 79 geber 'Gebärde,' gefer 'Gefahr,' erkler 'erkläre,'
ler 'leer,' mer 'Mär,' schwer (adv.), beschwer 'Beschwerde;
 beschwerde,' ungefer 'ungefähr,' wer 'wäre'; and the following
 with original, accented -âere: erzcammerer and zauberer, as
 well as the following under the verse accent (with analogical
-âer?): bruder, esslieder, hochgeborner, jeder, keiser.
- êr : êr 233;2 er 'eher,' er 'Ehre; ehre,' ker 'wende,' ler
'Lehre; lehre; lerne,' mer 'mehr,' verrer (written verröhr
 =MHG verrêren 'verstreuen, fallen lassen'), ser 'sehr.' Triple
 rhymes: ker : er 'Ehre' : mer (480.26; 3121.34).
- oer : oer 1 hör : zerstör (3237.1).
- âer : êr 68;1 gefer 'Gefahr,' mer 'Mär,' schwer (adv.), beschwer
'Beschwerde,' wer 'wäre'; Ferer (verse accent), with âe, rhyme
 with the following with ê: er, ler 'Lehre,' mer 'mehr,' ser
'sehr.' Triple rhyme: wer (âe) : ser (ê) : er (ê) (3114.27).
- êr : ôer 30 verer 'Verehrung,' ler 'Lehre,' mer 'mehr; vermehre,'

ser 'sehr,' with ê, rhyme with the following with ôê: chör 'Chöre,' hör 'höre.'

ër : ër 235;1 (=MHG ër, ërr) (r:r [166]; rr:rr [53]; r:rr [16])
ber 'Bär,' der (pronoun), er (pronoun), beger 'Begehren; be-
 gehen,' her (adv.), schmer 'Fett,' geschwer (to MHG swërn
 'wehe tun, schmerzen, schwellen, eitern'), wer (pronoun), wer
 'werde' (with loss of -d), wer 'währe, daure,' gewer 'gewähre.'
blerr 'doppeltes und falsches Sehen,' ferr 'fern, Ferne,' herr
 (=MHG hërre, not hërre),² once beuteller (=beutelherr 'Säckel-
 meister'), rhyme together. ferr and herr rhyme with beger,
er (pronoun), her (adv.), wer 'werde,' and Brandifer. Triple
 rhyme: her : der : er (3119.24).

er : er 15 abber 'schlage ab,' her 'Heer,' mer 'Meer,' schwer
 'schwöre,' wer 'Wehr, wehre, verteidige,' verzer 'verzehre.'

är : ër 5 pfer 'Pferd' (loss of -d), with ä rhymes with the
 following with ë: er (pronoun), her (adv.), zwer 'quer'
 (309.14; 917.4; 1334.16; 2340.24; 3129.17).

ër : er 4 her (adv.), with ë, rhymes with mer 'Meer,' schwer
 'schwöre,' wer 'Wehr,' with ë (887.3; 1307.18; 2080.9); Brandi-
fer (with ë?) rhymes with her 'Heer,' with ë (1537.35).

är : âer 4 pfer (twice spelled with final -d), with ä, rhymes
 with schwer (adv.), wer 'wäre,' with âe (454.24; 1889.28;
 2343.12; 2518.13).

ër : âer 352;6 (=MHG ër; ërr; âer) (ër:âer [338]; ërr:âer [14])
ber 'Bär,' beger 'Begehren; begehre,' er (pronoun), her (adv.),
herr, geschwer ('Geschwür,' to MHG swërn 'schwellen, eitern'),
Brandifer; these with ë rhyme with the following with âe:
gefer 'Gefahr,' erkler, ler 'leer,' mer 'Mär,' schwer (adv.),
beschwer 'Beschwerde,' ungefer 'ungefähr,' wer 'wäre,' and
 with the following with -âere or under the verse accent:
Ayrer 'Eierverkauf,' bettler, cammerer, cantzler, Februer
 (written Februar [BR60.24]), hofmeister, Jenner 'Jänner,'

² MHG hërre, probably originally Bavarian-Austrian and East Swabian, could very easily have penetrated, as a fashionable word pertaining to knighthood, into the other dialects, East Franconian, for instance (cf. Michels, § 87, note 4; Zwierzina, ZfdA, XLV, 19-29; Bohnenberger, ZfdWf, III, 106-11). That this apparently happened can be seen from Hans Sachs' herr <MHG hërre (cf. Bloomfield, p. 490). The modern Nürnberg dialect offers no information on this point, for here both MHG ë and ê before r(r) > ä: här (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 58.2; 67; 158.2).

Jupiter, mutter, schweher (: her [1447.18]), schweiger (BR34.6), vorsteher (BR58.5). Triple rhymes: her (ë) : ber 'Bär' (ë) : schwer (âê)(3063.19); wer 'daure' (ë) : er (pronoun) (ë) : schwer (âê)(3040.7); her (ë) : schwer (âê) : gefer 'Gefahr' (âê)(3064.20); ungefer (âê) : her (ë) : beger (ë)(3066.22); wer 'wäre' (âê) : schwer (âê) : der (ë)(3110.16); daher (ë) : mer 'Mär' (âê) : her (ë)(3111.4). herre : schwere (3096.2); her (adv.) : schwere (2902.6).

ër : êr 86 (=MHG ër, ërr) (ër:êr [83]; ërr:êr [3]) ber 'Bär,' der (pronoun), er (pronoun), beger 'Begehren,' her (adv.), herr (1722.11;BR66.23), scher 'Schere,' wer 'werde,' wer 'daure'; Brandifer; these words with ë rhyme with the following with ê: er 'Ehre; ehre,' ker 'wende,' ler 'Lehre; lehre, lerne,' mer 'mehr.' herre (ë) : ere 'Ehre' (ê)(3105.27).

er : âer 2 mer 'Meer' (ê) rhymes with gefer 'Gefahr' and So-phoier (under the verse accent), with âê (555.11;1047.19).

er : êr 42 her 'Heer,' mer 'Meer,' ner 'nähre,' bescher 'gebe aus,' schwer 'schwöre,' wer 'Wehr; wehre, hindre,' erwer 'verteidige'; these words with ê rhyme with er 'Ehre; ehre,' mer (adv.), ser (adv.), with ê.

er : ôer 3 zerber 'zerschlage' and beschwer 'beschwöre,' both with ê, rhyme with hör, with ôê (2226.19;2661.21;3257.8).

ër : âer : êr 2 er (pronoun) (ë) : gefer (âê) : mer (adv.) (ê)(3049.34); beger (ë) : wer 'wäre' (âê) : mer (adv.) (ê)(3112.24).

âer : êr : ôer 1 beschwer 'beschwerde' (âê) : nimmermer (ê) : hör (ôê)(3074.7).

êrer : ôerer 1 lerer 'Lehrer' (ê) : zuhörer (ôê)(557.11).

êrer : êrer 3 ernerer 'Ernährer,' schwerer 'Schwörer,' verzerer 'Verzerrer' (2015.23;2842.21;3004.16).

êrer : êrer 1 ernerer (ê) : widerkerer 'Zurückkömmling' (ê)(83.13).

êrern : ôerern 1 schuleren (dat. pl. 'Schullehrer') (ê) : zuhörern (ôê)(3358.23).

âerlich : âerlich 2 geferlich : schwerlich (427.25;1732.1).

âern : âern 7 gefern 'Gefährden,' lern 'leeren,' beschweren 'Beschwerden,' wern 'wären' (359.36;958.27;1076.20;1115.8;1648.9;1834.16;2737.13).

êrn : êrn 89 ern 'Ehren; ehren,' kern 'wenden,' lern 'lehren; lernen,' mern 'mehren,' rern (written rörn; 'fallen lassen').

ôern : ôern 24 hörn, gehörn, empörn, zerstörn, stören, betörn.

âern : êrn 4 erklern 'erklären,' beschwarn 'beschwerden,' wern 'wären,' bewern 'bewähren,' with âe, rhyme with ern 'Ehren,' kern 'wenden,' lern 'lehren,' with ê (1597.13;1695.34;1708.2; 2543.33).

âern : ôern 2 erklern (âe) : hörn (ôe) (536.30;1973.25).

êrn : ôern 104 ern 'Ehren; ehren,' kern 'wenden,' lern 'lehren; lernen,' mern 'vermehrten,' with ê, rhyme with hörn, gehörn, empörn, and betörn, with ôe.

ërn : ërn 411;2 (=MHG ërn, ërrn) (rn:rn [305]; rrn:rrn [56]; rn:rrn [50]) bern (obl. cases 'Bär'), entbern 'entbehren,' gebern 'gebären,' blerrn (MHG blërren 'schreiben'), dafern 'Schenke,' ern 'Erden' (with loss of -d-), ferrn, gern (adv.), begern 'begehren,' kerrn 'schreiben,' latern 'Laterne,' schern 'schneiden,' stern 'Stern,' tabern 'Schenke,' wern 'werden; gewähren; dauern; beschenken,' erwern 'ausdauern,' gewern 'gewähren.' Brandifern : herrn (1523.1). Triple rhymes: begern : gewern : gern (707.32); wern 'werden' : ern 'Erden' : gern (1777.10).

ern : ern 59;1 bern 'schlagen,' kern 'fegen,' nern 'nähren,' beschern 'austeilen,' schwern 'schwören,' wern 'wehren, verteidigen,' zern 'zehren.' Triple rhyme: ernern : zern : wern (3322.5).

ärn : âern 1 zern (pl. MHG zaher 'Zähre,' with ä; cf. Bahder, p. 104) : beschwarn 'beschwerden' (âe) (1974.20).

ërn : ern 8 (=MHG ër, ërr) (ërn:ern [7]; ërrn:ern [1]) gern, wern 'werden, schenken,' with ë, rhyme with the following with ë: bern 'schlagen,' ernern 'ernähren,' schwern 'schwören,' erwern 'erwehren.' herrn (ë) : erwern 'verteidigen' (ë) (3294.30).

ern : örn 3 erwern 'verteidigen,' with ë, rhymes with knörrn 'knuffen, stossen' and with ermörn 'ermorden' (with loss of -d-), both with ö (863.4;1379.26;2863.23).

ërn : âern 124;1 (=MHG ër, ërr) (ërn:âern [113]; ërrn:âern [11]) entbern 'entbehren,' ern 'Erden,' ferrn, gern, begern 'Begehren,' herrn, latern, stern, wern 'werden; dauern,' gewern 'gewähren'; these words with ë rhyme with the following with âe: gefern 'Gefährden,' erklern, lern 'leeren,' mern 'Mären; berühmt machen,' schwern 'beschwerden,' beschwarn 'Beschwerden; beschwerden,' wern 'wären,' bewern 'bewähren'; cypern (verse

accent). Triple rhyme: herrn (ë) : begern (ë) : beschwnern (âe) (1726.20).

ërn : êrn 36 (=MHG ër, ërr) (ërn:êrn [33]; ërrn:êrn [3]) gern, begern, herrn (2433.22), wern 'werden,' gewern 'gewähren,' with ë, rhyme with the following with ê: ern 'Ehren; ehren,' verkern 'verwenden,' lern 'lehren; lernen.' herren (ë) : eren (ê) (BR59.23); herren (ë) : leren 'lehren' (ê) (2890.5).

ërn : ôern 5 gern, begern 'begehren,' with ë, rhyme with hörn, with ôe (1745.7; 2180.13; 2551.9; 3062.5; 3105.2).

ern : êrn 113 bern 'schlagen,' kriegshern 'Kriegsheeren,' ernern 'ernähren,' kern 'fegen,' beschern 'austellen; beschenken,' schwern 'schwören,' einsperren, wern (pl. 'Wehr'; 'wehren'), verzern; these words with e rhyme with the following with ê: ern 'Ehren; ehren,' kern 'wenden,' lern 'lehren, lernen,' mern 'vermehrern.'

ern : ôern 35 erbern 'erschlagen; hauen,' kern 'fegen,' ernern 'ernähren,' schwern 'schwören,' wern 'wehren,' verzern; these words with e rhyme with the following with ôe: hörn, empörn, zerstörn.

örn : êrn 1 ermörn 'ermorden' (ö) : umkern 'umwenden' (ê) (1044.31).

örn : ôern 1 ermörn (ö) : aufhörn (ôe) (2094.8).

âert : âert 5 geberd 'Gebärde,' gefert 'Gefährde,' erklert, beschwerd 'Beschwerde,' wert 'wäret' (21.15; 194.13; 281.7; 1711.17; 2296.24).

êrt : êrt 17; plus 1 triple rhyme. ert 'ehrt,' kert 'wendet,' lert 'lehrt, lernt,' mert 'vermehrert.' Triple rhyme: umkert : gelert 'gelehrt' : unert 'unehrt' (3112.10).

ôert : ôert 20 hört, gehört, zerstört, betört.

êrt : ôert 46;2 ert 'ehrt,' kert 'wendet,' lert 'lehrt, lernt,' with ê, rhyme with the following with ôe: hört, gehört, zerstört, betört. keret 'wendet' (ê) : gehöret (ôe) (2624.33). Triple rhymes: ert 'ehrt' (ê) : verkert (ê) : stört (ôe) (3041.18); gelert 'gelehrt' (ê) : geert 'geehrt' (ê) : gehört (ôe) (3113.1).

ért : ért 191;1 erd 'Erde,' fert 'fort,' begert 'begehrt,' herd 'Herde,' schwert 'Schwert,' wert 'werdet; wert; dauert'; Fridbert, Gilbert. Triple rhyme: wert 'wert' : begert : erd (1611.19).

ert : ert 20 abbert 'schlägt ab,' fert 'Fahrt,' gefert 'Reise-

genosse,' verhert 'verhärtet,' ernert 'ernährt,' beschert 'teilt aus,' versperrt, wert 'wehrt,' gewert 'verteidigt; verboten,' verzert; Werth (a city [2450.29]).

ärt : ért 20 pferd, with ä, rhymes with erd 'Erde,' begert 'begehrt,' schwert 'Schwert,' wert 'wert; werde,' gewert 'gewährt,' with ë.

ért : ért 13 begert 'begehrt,' geschmert 'geschmiert' (to MHG smërn, not smirwen), wert 'wert,' gewert 'gewährt,' with ë, rhyme with the following with ę: beschert 'teilt aus' and schwert 'schwört.'

ärt : ært 2 pferd, with ä, rhymes with ungeferd 'Ungefahr' and beschwert 'Beschwerde,' both with æ (1580.3;2283.18).

ért : ært 80 erd 'Erde,' begert 'Begierde; begehrt,' schwert 'Schwert,' wert 'wert; werde; dauert'; these words with ë rhyme with the following with æ: geberd 'Gebärde,' gefert 'Gefahr; gefährdet,' erklert, lert 'leert,' unvermert 'unverraten,' beschwert 'Beschwerde; beschwerdet,' wert 'wäret,' bewert 'bewährt.'

ért : ért 11;1 begert, schwert 'Schwert,' wert 'wert; werdet'; Fridbert; these words with ë rhyme with the following with ê: verert 'verehrt,' bekert, gelert 'gelehrt; gelernt.' Triple rhyme: wert 'werdet' (ë) : umkert 'wendet um' (ê) : begert (ë) (2105.30).

ért : œrt 2 begert and wert 'wert,' with ë, rhyme with gehört, with œ (259.29;2893.7).

ert : ért 21;2 (rt, rrt) (ert:ért [20]; errt:ért [1]) hert 'Härte, hart,' nert 'nährt,' beschert 'teilt aus,' versperrt, bewert 'verteidigt,' erwert 'verteidigt,' gewert 'verteidigt,' verzert, with ę, rhyme with the following with ê: geert 'geehrt,' kert 'wendet,' gelert 'gelehrt, gelernt,' gemert 'vermehrt.' Triple rhymes: gewert (ę) : verkert (ê) : gemert (ê) (173.18); lert 'lernt' (ê) : beschert (ę) : unerwert 'unverteidigt' (ę) (987.28).

ert : œrt 14 erfert 'erfährt,' genert 'genährt,' beschert 'teilt aus,' versperrt, wert 'wehrt,' bewert 'verteidigt,' gewert 'verteidigt,' verzert, with ę, rhyme with the following œ: erhört, gehört, verstört.

ört : ért 2 ermört 'emördet' (ö) rhymes with verkert 'verwendet' and gelert 'gelehrt,' with ê (1363.12;2579.11).

ört : œrt 9 ermört (ö) rhymes with erhört, gehört, zerstört,

betört, with œ.

êrten : êrten 2 gelerten : geerten (2552.16;BR22.23).

êrten : œrten 1 kerten (pret. 'wenden') (ê) : hœrten (œ) (2986.19).

erтен : erтен 2 geferten 'Reisegenossen,' rhymes with spererten and with wolverspererten (1431.12;1509.3).

ärten : ärten 1 pferden (ä) : begerten 'begehrten' (ë) (1760.18).

êrst : êrst 1 begerst : gewerst 'gewährst' (1841.27).

êrst : erst 1 begerst (ë) : schwerst 'schwörst' (ë) (3239.20).

êrst : âerst 6 begerst and werst 'werdest,' with ë, rhyme with beschwerst 'beschwerdest,' werst 'wärest,' and bewerst 'bewährst,' with âe (346.10;781.16;1053.27;1878.30;2292.9;3412.35).

êrst : êrst 1 begerst (ë) : erst 'erst' (ê) (76.24).

erst : êrst 2 ferst 'fährt,' nerst 'näht,' with ë, rhyme with erst 'erst' and kerst 'wendest' (70.34;2471.23).

ërb : ërb 5 erwerb 'erwerbe' : sterb (intr. st. vb. 'sterbe') (867.9;875.22;1353.34;1625.25;3394.20).

ärb : ërb 3 herb (MHG härwe) rhymes with verderb (intr. st. vb.), sterb (intr. st. vb.), gewerb 'Gewerbe,' with ë (346.12;1805.31;3045.13).

ërb : ërb 3 sterb (intr. st. vb.) (ë) : erb 'erbe' (ë) (1208.28;2394.3;3351.5).

ërben : ërben 183;1 verderben (intr. st. vb. 'zu Schade kommen; das Verderben'), kerben 'Hinterteil,' scherben (dat. sg. 'Topf'), sterben (intr. st. vb. 'sterben'; 'das Sterben'), werben 'werben.' Triple rhyme: sterben 'Sterben' : erwerben : sterben (intr. st. vb. 'sterben') (3216.18).

erben : erben 11;1 verderben (trans. wk. vb. 'zu Schade bringen'), erben 'Erben; erben,' sterben (trans. wk. vb. 'töten'). Triple rhyme: verderben : sterben 'töten' : erwerben (2588.20).

ärben : ërben 3 entferben 'entfärben' and herben, with ä, rhyme with sterben, with ë (intr. st. vb.) (756.30;1681.3;3296.25).

ërben : erben 3 sterben (intr. st. vb.), with ë, rhymes with erben (pl. 'Erbe; erben') (99.32;1669.29;3314.33).

ërbt : ërbt 1 sterbt 'ihr sterbt' : werbt 'ihr werbt' (19.20).

erbt : erbt 13 verderbt (part., trans. wk. vb.), unverderbt (part. adj., wk. vb.), geerbt (part. 'erben'), gesterbt (part., trans. wk. vb. 'töten'), ersterbt (part., trans. wk. vb. 'sterben machen, töten').

erden : erden 38 erden : werden.

erden : æerden 5;1 erden and werden, with ë, rhyme with ge-
berden 'Gebärden' and beschwerden 'Beschwerden,' with âe.
Triple rhyme: erden (ë) : werden (ë) : beschwerden (âe)
(1129.2).

ërts : ërts 83 (=MHG ts, z) hertz, schertz, schmertz, -werts
(aufwerts, inwerts, etc.). hertze : schertze, schmertze
(2036.3;3157.26).

ërtsen : ërtsen 56 (=MHG z) hertzen, schertzen, schmertzen.
ërtsen : ertsen 1 schmertzen (ä) : mertzen 'März' (ę)(BR80.2).
ërtsens : ertsens 4 hertzens, schertzens, schmertzens (35.27;
580.5;937.15;2510.31).

értst : értst 1 verschértzt : behértzt (adv.)(1840.22).
értst : ertst 1 schmertzt (ë) : verschwertzt 'verschwärzt' (ę)
(3103.22).

ërch : ërch 19 (=MHG ërg, ërch) (ch:ch [2]; ch:g [17]) berg,
werk (MHG wërch 'Werk'), zweg (MHG twërch 'Zweg; Quere').
(zweg : werk [2]; berg : werk [4]; berg : zweg [13]).

erk : erk 1 merk 'merke' : sterk 'Stärke' (433.7).

ërk : erk 2 werk (MHG wërc 'Werk') : sterk (ę)(965.33;1013.14).

ärf : örf 1 scherf 'Schärfe' (ä) : dörf 'dürfe' (ö)(651.35).

ärft : örft 1 gescherft 'geschärft' (ä) : dörft 'dürfte' (ö)
(1285.18).

êrung : öerung 3 vererung 'Verehrung,' bekerung 'Bekehrung,'
with ê, rhyme with erhörung and zugehörung, with ôe (632.24;
2812.23;BR26.18).

erung : erung 1 beschwerung : verzerung (616.5).

erung : êrung 5 beschwerung and zerung, with ę, rhyme with
vererung with ê (899.14;2591.28;2627.27;2648.19;2913.32).

êl : êl 1 tel (Low German 'Teil') : fel (Low German 'feil')
(555.3).

âel : êl 1 fel 'Fehler' (âe) : sel 'Seele' (â)(2147.25).

ël : ël 4 (=MHG l, ll) (l:l [2]; ll:ll [2]) fel 'Fell, Haut,'
hell 'hell,' kel 'Kehle,' mel 'Mehl,' schel 'sheel,' schnell;
libell 'Libell' (638.33;1230.8;1236.16;2402.8).

el : el 42;1 (=MHG l, ll) (ll:ll [36]; l:ll [6]) ungefell
'Unfall,' hell 'Hölle; enger Raum zwischen dem Ofen und der
Wand,' quel 'Qual,' geschell 'Lärm,' gesell 'Geselle,' ver-
stell 'verstelle,' well (pres. ind. and subj. 'wollen'),
erzel 'erzähle'; ungefelle : geselle (3026.19). Triple rhyme:
hell 'Hölle' : gesell : well 'wolle' (559.34).

ël : el 1 hell 'hell' (ë) : gesell (e)(3216.9).

el : öl 42 (=MHG l, ll) (el:öl [41]; el:öll [1]) hell 'Hölle,' gesell, gestell 'Geställ' (2197.3), wel 'wähle' (402.37), well 'wolle,' with e, rhyme with söll (pres. subj. 'sollen').

ël : ael 4 befel 'Befehl,' verhel 'verhehle,' mel 'Mehl,' with ë, rhyme with fel 'Fehler; fehl,' with âe (85.25;1658.1; 2478.7;2779.25).

ël : êl 3 befel 'Befehl,' trumelfel 'Trommelfell,' mel 'Mehl,' with ë, rhyme with sel 'Seele,' with ê (2178.16;2853.24; 3392.25).

el : êl 18;2 (=MHG l, ll) (el:êl [8]; el:êl [10;2]) gefell 'Unfall,' hell 'Hölle,' quel 'Qual,' gesell, well 'wolle,' with e, rhyme with sel, with ê. Triple rhymes: sel (ê) : quel (e) : gefell 'Unfall' (e)(3049.29); quel (e) : sel (ê) : hell (e)(3228.28).

öl : êl 1 öl 'Öl' (ö) : sel (ê)(2862.14).

öla : öla 2 Rölla and Dölla (persons) rhyme with zölla (?) (2829.22;2838.16).

ela : öla 1 wella (inf. 'wollen') (e) : zölla (2838.18).

âelen : âelen 2 felen 'fehlen' : stelen 'strählen' (1372.26; 2059.8).

ëlen : ëlen 9 (=MHG l, ll) (l:l [8]; ll:ll [1]) trumelfelen 'Trommelfell' (to MHG vël, not völl), verhelen 'verhehlen,' kelen (obl. cases 'Kehle'), vermellen 'vermelden,' stelen 'stehlen,' zellen (acc. sg. 'Zelle' [3033.4]).

elen : elen 194;1 (=MHG l, ll) (l:l [6]; ll:ll [180;1]; l:ll [8]) fellen 'fällen,' hellen (obl. cases 'Hölle; enger Raum zwischen dem Ofen und der Wand'), schnellen 'Nasenstüber geben,' gesellen, stellen, wellen 'wollen,' welen 'wählen,' zelen 'zählen.' Triple rhyme: hellen : wellen : anstellen (2213.2).

ëlen : elen 1 befelen 'befehlen' (ë) : bestellen (e)(3407.19).

elen : ölen 43;1 (=MHG l, ll) (el:öl [0]; el:öll [41;1]; el:öll [1]; el:öl [1]) fellen 'fällen,' gesellen, hellen (obl. cases 'Hölle'), stellen, welen 'wählen' (113.20), wellen 'wollen'; these with e rhyme with söllen (subj. 'sollen') (ö). welln 'wollen' (e) : Cöln (ö)(635.19). Triple rhyme: bestellen : söllen : wellen (1787.21).

ëlen : âelen 21 kelen (obl. cases 'Kehle'), verhelen 'verhehlen,' stelen 'stehlen'; these with ë rhyme with felen 'fehlen,'

with âe.

ëlen : êlen 1 befelen 'befehlen' (ë) : selen (pl. 'Seele')(ê)
(572.34).

elen : âelen 1 zelen 'zählen' (e) : felen 'fehlen' (âe)(2422.23).

ëler : êler 1 muscateller (a wine) : keller 'Kellner' (1932.4).

ëler : âler 1 keller 'Keller' (ë) : teller 'Teller' (â)(3167.1).

ëler : âeler 1 keller 'Keller' (ë) : feler (Fehler) (âe)(695.27).

ëlig : âelig 1 schellig (MHG schëllic 'zornig') : feindselig
(âe)(2683.15).

ëlþ : êlþ 3 selþ 'selbst' : gelþ (649.34;3034.9;3280.16).

ëlber : êlber 2 selber : gelber (248.31;2309.3).

ëlben : êlben 1 denselben : gelben (1661.3).

âelt : êelt 1 gefelt 'gefehlt' : gestreilt 'gestrählt' (3075.23).

ëlt : êlt 156;1 (=MHG ld, lt, ldt, llt) (ël:ël [155;1]; ël:ëll
[1]) feld 'Feld,' geld 'Geld,' entgelt 'entgelte,' vergelt
'vergelte,' erhellet 'hell gemacht' (2549.30), meldt 'meldet,'
gemeldt, welt 'Welt,' zelt 'Zelt,' gezelt 'Zelt.' Triple
rhyme: welt : geld : gemeldt (3042.8).

elt : elt 132;2 (=MHG ld, lt, llt) (l:l [20;1]; ll:ll [54];
l:ll [58;1]) fellet 'fällt' (trans. and intrans.), gefällt
(part. 'fällen; gefallen'), held, helt 'hält,' kelt 'Kälte,'
stellt, wellt 'wollt,' erwelt 'erwählt,' gezelt 'gezählt.'
Triple rhymes: held : held : auserwelt 'auserwählt' (1278.16);
gefellt (part. 'gefallen') : helt 'hält' : bestellt (3071.7).

ëlt : elt 13 (ël:ël [2]; ël:ëll [11]) geld, welt 'Welt,'
zelt 'Zelt,' with ë, rhyme with the following with e: gefellt
(part. 'gefallen'), held (1371.27), bestellt, wellt 'wollt,'
gezelt 'gezählt' (BR22.33).

elt : ölt 15 (ellt:öllt [13]; elt:öllt [2]) bestellt, gefellt
(part. 'gefallen'), wellt 'wollt,' gewellt 'gewollt,' gewelt
'gewählt' (201.27;600.33), with e, rhyme with söllt (ö).

ëlt : âelt 19 feld, geld, welt 'Welt,' zelt 'Zelt,' gezelt
'Zelt,' with ë, rhyme with the following with âe: felt
'fehlt,' gefelt 'gefehlt,' gestreilt 'gestrählt.'

ëlten : êlten 49;1 (=MHG ld, lt) (lt:lt [9]; lt:ld [40;1])
felden, gelten, melden, schelten, selten. Triple rhyme: ver-
gelten : schelten : melden (1965.20).

elten : elten 1 welten (pret. 'wählen') : helden (259.7).

elst : ölst 4 (ell:öll [3]; el:öll [1]) helst 'hältst,'
stellst, wellst 'wollst,' with e, rhyme with söllst, with ö

(419.3; 953.11; 1162.23; 1237.2).

ëlch : ëlch 1 schelch 'sheel' : befelch 'Befehl' (2856.29);
elsewhere these words rhyme without final -ch (cf. above ël-
rhymes).

ëlfen : ëlfen 2 gelfen 'schreien' : helfen (1301.9; 1964.36).
âem : âem 84;1 angenem 'angenehm,' kem 'käme,' brotkrem 'Brotla-
den,' nem 'nähme,' bequem, gezem 'angenehm, gemäss,' widerzem
'widerzähm'; ad quem (with âe?); Ottonem, Trojazinem. Triple
rhyme: kem : annem : widerzem (3066.13).

äm : ëm 2 schem 'schäme' (ä) : nem 'nehme' (ë) (1575.7; 1895.1).

ëm : ëm 1 wem (pronoun) (ë) : frem 'fremd' (q) (350.3).

ëm : âem 21 dem (pronoun), wem (pronoun), with ë, rhyme with
the following with âe: kem 'käme,' nem 'nähme,' fürnem 'vor-
nehm'; Hattonem, Jerusalem.

ëm : âem 4 grem 'gräme' (q) : kem 'käme,' nem 'nähme,' with âe
(42.22; 729.23; 1911.3; 3351.11).

ëmen : ëmen 3 nemen 'nehmen,' gezemen 'geziemen' (88.6; 686.35;
1060.9).

ëmen : ëmen 2 demmen (MHG tēnnen 'dämmen, hindern'), schwemmen
(MHG swēnnen 'spülen, wäschen'), stemmen (MHG stēnnen 'an-
schwellen') (427.18; 2053.13).

âmen : ëmen 82 schemen 'schämen,' with ä, rhymes with nemen
'nehmen,' with ë.

âmen : ëmen 2 schemen 'schämen,' with ä, rhymes with gremen
'grämen' and erlemen 'erlähmen,' both with q (1889.6; 2422.19).

ëmen : ëmen 15 (ëm:ëm [14]; ëmm:ëmm [1]) nemen 'nehmen,' with
ë, rhymes with gremen 'grämen' and zemen 'zähmen,' both with
q; nemmen (MHG nēmmen 'nehmen') : schwemmen 'spülen, wäschen'
(q) (427.34).

ëmen : âemen 24 nemen and gezemen 'passend sein,' with ë,
rhyme with the following with âe: kemen 'kämen,' fürnemen
(obl. cases 'vornehm'); Northemen (with âe? [1718.11; 1767.18]).

ëmen : âemen 1 gremen (q) : kemen 'kämen' (âe) (1805.8).

ëmen : âmen : ëmen 1 ausnemen (ë) : schemen (ä) : zemen (q)
(2287.18).

ëmper : ëmper 1 semper 'Wanst' (q) : gemper 'Rippen' (q)
(2249.34).

ëmpel : ëmpel 2 exempel (q) : Baurnhempel (person; with q?)
(2944.28); Hempel : Lempel (person; with q?) (2929.11).

ëmpel : ëmpel 8 tempel (ë) : exempel (q).

emt : emt 1 hemd 'Hemd' : fremd 'fremd' (3323.23).

ënt : änt 2 nemt 'nehmt,' with ë, rhymes with unverschemt 'unverschämt' (69.35;713.11).

ämst : ëmst 1 schemst (ä) : nemst 'nehmet' (ë)(3060.35).

ëmst : âemst 1 nemst 'nehmet' (ë) : bekemst 'bekämt' (âe) (2092.7).

empfen : empfen 21 dempfen 'dämpfen' : kempfen 'kämpfen.'

empft : empft 2 gedempft, kempft 'gekämpft,' gestempft 'gestämpft' (115.9;413.25).

ên : ên 232;2 gen 'gehen,' pen (MHG pên 'Strafe' [2031.24]), sten 'stehen' (once written ston [3163.32]), zwen 'zwei'; Athen 'Athens' (with ê?). anderen : ergangen (with stress on the final syllable [2280.1]). Triple rhymes: gen : zwen : sten (199.17); Athen : Athen : gen (1278.20).

ôen : ôen 3 krôn 'kröne,' schôn, getôn 'Getön' (332.33;702.31; 2117.14).

âen : ên 1 spen (pl. MHG spân 'Holzspan') (âe) : versten 'verstehen' (ê) (2609.11).

ên : ôen 24;1 gen, sten, zwen; Athen, with ê, rhyme with krôn, schôn, with ôe. Triple rhyme: gen : sten : schôn (3109.25).

ën : en 1 den (pronoun) (ë) : zen 'Zähne' (e) (1498.27).

ën : ên 5 den (pronoun), with ë, rhymes with gen, beisten, with ê (426.29;505.34;1293.1;2298.1;3263.31).

en : ên 9 verbreenn (3143.30), gewen 'gewöhne' (3319.22), and zen 'Zähne,' with e, rhyme with gen, sten; Athen, with ê (1223.31;1224.36;1268.23;1330.4;1933.26;2380.9;3365.12).

ün : ên 14 sôn (pl. 'Sohn'), with ü, rhymes with gen, sten, zwen, with ê.

ün : ôen 4 sôn (ü) : schôn (ôe) (277.8;1641.14;BR30.6); begôn 'begönne' (ü) : schôn (BR82.14).

üen : ôen 6 schôn, with ôe, rhymes with grün, grobgrün 'stark-fädiges Zeug' (borrowed from the French gros-grain [cf. DWb]), kün 'kühn,' with üe (33.33;1393.13;1707.6;1768.9;2367.32; 2453.11).

ên : an 1 zwen 'zwei' (ê) : Florian (a character) (1490.11).

ôenen : ôenen 3 krönen, schönen, trönen (pl. 'Tron') (66.28; 227.8;560.23).

enen : enen 1 senen 'sehen' : Saracenen (with e?) (473.26).

enen : ôenen 1 abgewenen 'abgewöhnen' (e) : beschönen (ôe) (816.33).

ünen : ônen 2 sönen (ü) : verhönen and krönen, with ôe (261.30; 269.19).

üenen : ônen 1 versönen 'versöhnen' (üe) : krönen (ôe) (1019.22).

ôent : ôent 1 krönt : hönt 'höht' (1602.6).

ënt : ënt 8 convent, fundament, regent, regiment, student, testament; Favent.

ent : ent 236;3;1³ (=MHG nd, nt [=nt, nnt, ndt]) (nd:nd [87]; nt:nt [23]; nd:nt [126]) verblendt, gebrennt, aufgedent 'aufgedehnt,' elend, end, hend (sg. and pl. 'Hand'), behend 'geschickt,' kennt, lend (dat. sg. 'Land'), zugelent 'zugewandt,' nennt, rent 'Rente,' abgerennt, schend 'Schande; schände,' geschendt, send 'sende,' hergesendt 'hergesandt,' spend 'Spendung,' stend 'Stände,' umstend 'Umstände,' zertrennt, vollendt 'vollendet,' wend (dat. sg. 'Wand; wende'), verwendt 'verwendet; verwandt,' verwent 'verwöhnt.' Triple rhymes: end : end : gewendt 'gewandt' (1278.24); gewendt : end : elend (1695.9); kennt : nennt : behend (3118.19).

ënt : ënt 217;2 (=ënt; end, ent [=nt, nnt, ndt]) (ënt:ent [38;1]; ënt:end [179;1]) argument, convent, fundament, instrument, losament 'Herberge,' regent, regiment, sacrament, student, testament; Favent, Tarent, with ë, rhyme with the following with e: verbrennt, elend, end, vollendt, hend, behend, erkennt, genennt, rent 'Rente,' schend, geschendt, gesendt, umstend, zertrennt, wend 'Wand; wende,' gewendt, verwent 'verwöhnt.' Triple rhymes: regent (ë) : hend (sg.) (e) : wend 'wende' (e) (1290.2). student (ë) : behend (e) : wend 'Wand' (e) (2610.27).

ënt : int 56 (=ënt; ind) convent, fundament, instrument, regent, regiment, testament, with ë, rhyme with send 'sind' (always written with e).

ent : int 71 (=end, ent [=nt, nnt, ndt]; ind) (end:ind [33]; ent:ind [38]) verblend 'verblende,' verbrennt, end, hend, behend, erkennt, zugelent 'zugewandt,' genennt, gerennt, schend, spend, stend, umstend, zertrennt, eingewendt; these words with e rhyme with send 'sind.'

ënt : ent : int 1 regiment (ë) : gewendt (e) : send 'sind' (i) (258.11).

ender : ender 10 armbender (pl. 'Armband'), tuchgewender (pl.

³ That is, 236 couplets, 3 triple rhymes, and 1 quatrain.

'Tuchgewand'), mender 'Männer' (written with and without -d- [563.9;2157.14;2274.29;2507.35;3148.34]), schender 'Schänder,' Mailender 'Mailänder.'

ändern : endern 3 endern 'ändern' and verglendern 'mit einem Geländer versehen,' with ä, rhyme with mendern 'Männern' (written without -d- [401.15;2023.13;2680.26]).

enten : enten 2 (=MHG d) enden 'Enten,' schenden, wenden (2635.2;2639.19).

enten : enten 73 (=MHG ënt; end, ent) (nd:nd [59]; nd:nt [14]) administranten, instrumenten, losamenten, mendicamenten, patienten, regenten, regimenten, sacramenten, studenten; these words with ë rhyme with the following with ę: blenden, enden 'beenden; Enden,' henden, anlenden 'ankommen,' renden 'Rinder,' schenden, senden 'schicken,' umstenden, wenden.

enten : ünten 1 wenden (ę) : könten (MHG künden 'könnten') (2777.17).

endst : endst 1 schendst 'schändest' : wendst 'wendest' (1264.4).

ents : ents 6 (=foreign nz) audientz, experientz, patientz, pestilentz, reverentz, sententz 'Urteil'; Lorentz (259.18; 494.32;916.14;1879.25;2117.2;2538.35).

ents : ents 14 (=MHG ënz; ends, enz) credentz, reverentz; Vincentz, with ë, rhyme with the following with ę: eilends, grenz (1733.7;1745.17;2538.15), behends 'eilig.'

äntser : ëntser 1 fuchsschwentzer (appellation (ä) : faullenzer (ë) (1445.10).

äntsern : ëntsern 1 fuchsschwentzern (ä) : faullenzern (ë) (2613.27).

äntsen : ëntsen 1 fuchsschwentzen (ä) : faullentzen (ë) (3204.13).

enst : enst 9 (=MHG nst, nnst) (nn:nn [2]; n:nn [7]) kennst, nennst, gespenst 'Gespenst.'

endig : endig 1 inhendig 'zu Hand' : gestendig 'geständig' (1004.27).

enk : enk 51;1 (=MHG ng, nk) (ng:ng [13]; nk:nk [20]; ng:nk [18]) benk (obl. cases 'Bank'), breng 'bringe' (to MHG brengen), denk, ingedenk (adv.), dreng 'Drangsäl,' drenk 'Getränk,' gedreng 'Gedränge,' eng (adj.), heng 'hänge,' gehend 'Gehänge,' krenk 'kränke,' leng 'Länge,' lenk 'biege, wende,' meng 'Menge,' gepreng 'Zeremoniell,' renk 'renke,' schenk 'Wirtshaus; Geschenk,' streng 'Gewalt; streng,' schwenk (pl. 'Schwank'), senk 'senke,' zweng 'zwänge.' stulgenge 'Stuhl-

gänge : brenge (3084.14). Triple rhyme: renk : schenk : denk (3041.8).

eng : êng 6 breng, meng, streng (adv.), with q, rhyme with weng 'wenig,' with ê (402.2;1316.37;2367.30;3190.33;3323.29;3338.30).

enger : ênger 2 strenger (adv.), verlenger 'mache länger,' with q, rhyme with wenger 'weniger,' with ê (1804.18;2060.28).

engel : engel 1 bengel : galgenschwengel (3376.22).

ängel : engel 8 mengel 'Mangel; Fehler,' and tierengel 'Türangel' (3090.22), with ä, rhyme with bengel and engel 'Engel,' with q.

ängeln : engeln 1 türengeln 'schlagen; in die Türe klemmen' (ä) : bengeln (dat. pl.) (q) (2628.2).

ängels : engels 2 mengels (gen. 'Mangel'), with ä, rhymes with bengels and engels (683.14;3174.9).

engen : engen 6 bringen 'bringen,' drengen 'drücken,' gengen 'in Bewegung setzen,' hengen 'hängen lassen,' verlengen 'in die Länge ziehen,' mengen 'sich mengen,' sprengen (trans. wk. vb. 'springen machen'), bezwengen 'in Bedrängnis bringen'; Dengen (a city) (433.13;1081.4;1566.29;2475.12;3380.9;3406.12).

enken : enken 154;1 denken, ingedenken (adv.), henken (MHG henken 'hängen'), krenken 'kränken,' lenken, renken 'Renken,' schenken, schwenken, senken, trenken 'tränken,' eintrenken (MHG intrenken 'Rache nehmen'), ertrenken, hinwenken 'hinwenden.' Triple rhyme: bedenken : schenken : erhenken (891.31).

enkt : enkt 25 (=MHG gt, kt) (gt:gt [2]; kt:kt [22]; gt:kt [1]) denkt, eindrenkt 'drängt hinein,' fengt 'fängt' (1292.17; 1793.22), bekrenkt, gelenkt, schenkt, senkt, ertrenkt, gezwengt (1710.5).

enkt : enkt 2 (=MHG gt, kt) (gt:gt [1]; gt:kt [1]) bedenkt, zwengt, with q, rhyme with rengt 'regnet,' with ë (2470.26; 3054.33).

engst : engst 3 anfangst 'fängst an,' kirchweihhengst 'Mönch der die Kirche einweiht,' kuttenhengst 'Mönch,' lengst 'längst' (2368.8;3054.10;3203.14).

änknuss : änknuss 4 verhenknuss 'Verhängnis' : zwenknuss 'Zwängnis.'

enn : enn 5;1 verbrenn, kenn 'kenne,' nenn 'nenne,' zertrenn (432.35;1237.34;1292.4;2137.17;2993.11). Triple rhyme: nenn : erkenn : erkenn (544.24).

ennen : ennen 84;1 brennen, hennen (pl. 'Henne'), kennen,
nennen, rennen, tennen (pl. 'Tenne'), zertrennen. Triple
 rhyme: kennen : nennen : verbrennen (1316.16).

ennen : ennen 1 tennen (ē) : ochsenzennen 'Ochsensehne' (to
 MHG sënne) (781.2).

ennen : ünen 3 nennen, verbrennen, with e, rhyme with können,
 with ü (757.4;1151.15;2171.12).

enner : enner 2 brenner 'Mann der etwas brennt' : menner 'Män-
 ner' (2842.23;2966.29).

ennet : ennet 3 bekennet, brennet, kennet, nennet (1916.13;
 3088.9;3117.13).

ennig : ênig 2 pfennig (ē) : wenig (ê) (2305.7;2998.33).

ëb : ëb 17 geb, leb 'lebe.' leb 'Löwe' (=MHG lêwe, not lêwe;
 cf. Lexer; also Gebhardt, § 58.1 and § 88, note 1) rhymes
 with geb (480.21).

ëben : ëben 1118;8 eben, geben, kleben, leben 'Leben; leben,'
leben 'Löwen' (103.14;1152.23), darneben, pfeben (a vegetable
 [2628.21;BR22.17]; this word is still used in present Nb; cf.
 Gebhardt, § 112, note 5), schweben, streben, weben; Eisleben
 (541.22). Triple rhymes: 270.30;937.3;975.18;1188.31;1248.16;
 2140.18;3047.12;3233.14.

ëbens : ëbens 16 lebens : vergebens.

ëbst : ëbst 1;1 erbegst (pres. subj.) : lebst (1989.14). Triple
 rhyme: gebst : strebst : lebst (3120.15).

ëbt : ëbt 16 gebt 'ihr gebt,' lebt, schwebt, gestrebt.

ëbt : ëbt 1 gelebt (ë) : grebt 'gräbt' (ē) (3283.7).

âet : âet 2 abdret 'dreht ab' : gewet 'geweht' (2639.35), spet
 'spät' : ret (pl. 'Rat') (1112.2).

ât : ât 312;1 (=MHG d, t) (t:t [293;1]; d:t [17]) baret
 'Kopf Bedeckung' (BR27.3;BR70.22), bed 'beide,' get 'geht,'
het 'hätte,' stet 'steht,' tet 'täte'; dignitet, nativitet,
poet, privet, prophet; Gret, Lisabet, Machumet, Pacollet,
Posset. hete : tete (2142.8). Triple rhyme: get : het : tet
 (3389.38). (get and stet rhyme together 30 times; get and
stet rhyme with het 45 times; get and stet with tet 33;1 times;
het rhymes with other words with ê 16; tet rhymes with other
 words with ê 17; het rhymes with tet 143 times.)

ôet : ôet 6 (t:t [1]; tt:tt [4]; d:t [1]) einöt 'Einöde,' nöt
 (pl. 'Not'), genött (part. MHG nôeten 'sich Mühe geben'),
spröd 'spröde,' töt 'töte,' getött (part. 'töten') (31.11;36.26;

46.26;833.23;1253.19;1271.30).

- âet : êt 26 wildbret, dret 'dreht,' kret 'kräht,' ret (pl. 'Rat'), geset 'gesät,' spet 'spät'; Mayestet; these words with âe rhyme with the following with ê: bed 'beide,' get, het, stet, tet. (het =9, tet =8, get and stet =9.)
- êt : ôet 13;2 (êt:ôet [11;2]; êt:ôed [2]) get, het, stet, tet, with ê, rhyme with the following with ôe: blöd 'blöde,' einöt, nöt, genöt, vonnöt (adv.), röt 'Röte,' ertöt 'ertöte.' (get and stet =11;1; het =1; tet =1;1.) Triple rhymes: get (ê) : zustet (ê) : nöt (ôe) (3046.18); tet (ê) : get (ê) : nöt (ôe) (3044.29).
- et : et 15 (tt:tt [1]; dt:tt [12]; dt:t [2]) bett 'Bett,' redt 'redet,' geredt 'geredet,' stet (pl. 'Stadt'), wett 'Wette,' gewett 'Wette,' verwett 'verwettet.'
- ët : et 1 gebet 'Gebet' (ë) : totengered 'Rede für die Toden' (ë) (3168.6).
- et : öt 2 geredt and gewett, with ë, rhyme with gespött 'Gespött,' with ö (1299.7;2554.2).
- ët : âet 15 bet 'bete,' gebet, gebett 'gebetet,' brett 'Brett,' with ë, rhyme with kirchengeret, spet 'spät' stet 'stetig; stets,' with âe.
- ët : êt 18 bet, gebet, gebett, brett, and "z" (letter of alphabet; ë?) with ë, rhyme with get, het, stet, tet; Machumet, secret, with ê. (get and stet =10; het =4; tet = 2.)
- et : âet 2 bett 'Bett,' geredt, with ë, rhyme with genet 'genäht,' stet 'stetig,' with âe (2123.11;2805.1).
- et : êt 174;1 (t:t [13]; d:d [5]; t:tt [45;1]; d:dt [1]; t:dt [65]) bett, red 'Rede; rede,' geredt, errett 'errette,' stet (pl. 'Stadt'), wett 'Wette,' gewett, verwett; these words with ë rhyme with the following with ê: bed 'beide,' het, get, stet, tet; Gret, Machumet. (get and stet =47; het =35; tet =83;1.) Triple rhyme: bett 'Bett' (ë) : het (ê) : tet (ê) (2611.7).
- et : ôet 7 bett, geredt, errett, stet 'Städte,' with ë, rhyme with töt and getött, with ôe (1106.34;1251.12;1265.26;1491.1;1602.10;1811.31;2823.25).
- öt : êt 2 gespött (ö) : get and het (ê) (1299.7;2554.2).
- âeter : âeter 3 verreter 'Verräter' : übelteter (927.21;1601.26;2186.20).
- öter : öter 2 Götter : spötter (37.23;1517.13).

äter : äter 1 veter 'Väter' (ä) : endentreter 'einer der auf Enten tritt' (ë) (2450.19).

eter : öter 2 retter, fetter 'Onkel, Neffe' (ę) : Götter (ö) (350.33; 693.24).

äter : âeter 4 scheffenleder 'Schaafsleder' and leustreter 'einer der auf Läuse tritt,' with ë, rhyme with verreter, with âê (369.22; 1607.1; 1824.34; 3336.25).

eter : âeter 1 retter (ę) : gutteter 'einer der Gutes tut' (âê) (1485.21).

âetern : âetern 3 edern (MHG âedern 'Ader lassen'), verretern 'Verrättern,' übeltetern (85.9; 848.13; 1787.31).

êten : êten 32 (t:t [30]; d:t [2]) beden 'beiden,' heten, teten; priveten, propheten; soleniteten; Lisabeten. (heten and teten rhyme together 25 times; heten rhymes with the other words with ê [except teten] 3 times; teten rhymes with them twice.)

ôeten : ôeten 18 nöten, töten.

âeten : êten 5 reten (pl. 'Rat') (âê) : heten, teten (ê) (490.33; 1928.25; 1930.5; 2180.8; BR82.24).

êten : ôeten 12 heten, teten; faculteten, poeten, with ê, rhyme with nöten, vonnöten (adv.), töten, with ôê.

êten : êten 15 beten, gebeten, treten.

eten : ęten 5 (t:t [3]; d:t [2]) betten ('Bett machen'; pl. 'Bett'), ketten (pl. 'Kette'), metten 'Frühmessen,' reden, erreten (1191.16; 2038.30; 2156.8; 2168.3; 2836.9).

êten : ęten 5 gebeten, treten, with ë, rhyme with reden, with ę (752.19; 2287.8; 2457.21; 2773.8; 3034.16).

êten : âeten 4 beten, gebeten, treten (pres. ind.), with ë, rhyme with reten (pl. 'Rat'), treten (pret. subj. 'treten'), with âê (96.8; 204.5; 268.22; 3395.24).

êten : êten 8 beten and vertreten, with ë, rhyme with heten (469.7; 1343.21; 2670.19; 3323.5), teten (1279.22; 3166.10; 3167.19); planeten (595.26), with ê.

ęten : âeten 1 steten (dat. pl. 'Stadt') (ę) : kriegsreten (pl. 'Kriegsrat') (âê) (585.35).

ęten : êten 76;1 (et:êt [6]; ed:êd [42]; ett:êt [6]; ed:êt [19;1]) freten 'plagen,' ketten, metten (pl. 'Frühmesse'), reden, erretten, steten (pl. 'Stadt'), bestetten 'bestättigen,' with ę, rhyme with the following with ê: beden 'beiden,' heten, teten; completen, poeten, secreten. (heten =7; teten

=22;1.) Triple rhyme: beden (ê) : reden (ê) : teten (â)
(1095.37).

eten : ôeten 18 ketten, reden, erretten, with ê, rhyme with
nôten and tôten, with ôê.

ôten : êten 1 flôten 'Flôten' (ö) : trumeten 'Trompeten' (with
ê?)(965.8).

êtest : ôetest 1 hetest 'hättest' (â) : ertôtest (ôê)(79.29).

âetig : âetig 3 genedig 'gnädig' : unfletig 'unflätig' (526.15;
2245.13); tetig 'tätig' : retig 'ratsam' (1000.20).

edig : edig 1 predig 'Predigt' : beschedig 'beschädige'
(2979.33).

ötlich : ôetlich 1 spötlich (ö) : tötlich (ôê)(2570.35).

ets : ets 8 (=MHG tz) letz 'Letze, Ende' (cf. Dwb, VI, 800),
metz 'Jungfrau,' pletz (pl. 'Platz'), schetz (pl. 'Schatz'),
geschwetz 'Geschwätz,' setz 'setze,' gesetz 'Gesetz; Strophe.'

etsen : etsen 104;1 ergetzen 'ergötzen,' hetzen 'Elster; Jagd;
jagen,' hütterkretzen 'geflochtener Korb eines Hüttenarbeiters,'
letzen 'hindern; berauben; beenden; Abschied,' metzen 'kleines
Trockenmass,' setzen, gesetzen (dat. pl. 'Gesetz'), wetzen.

Triple rhyme: setzen : letzen : ergetzen (367.27).

etsen : ötsen 1 einsetzen (ê) : götzen (pl. 'Götze, Götzenbild')
(ö)(1428.22).

etst : etst 69 getzt 'ergötzt,' gehetzt, letzt 'das Letzte,'
verletzt (adv.), zuletzt (adv.), genetzt 'nass gemacht,' setzt,
gewetzt 'geschärft.'

ëg : ëg 3 steg, weg (1933.13;2465.15); wege (dat. sg.) : stege
(acc. sg.)(2143.6).

ëg : ëg 3 pfleg, weg, with ë, rhyme with leg, with ê (1551.23;
1961.1;2508.10).

ëg : âëg 1 verleg 'verfährt' (ë) : treg 'träg' (âë)(817.8).

ëger : ëger 1 statpfleger 'Stadtpfleger' : leger 'Lager'
(2482.26).

ëger : ëger 1 ankleger 'Anklager' : hundsschleger 'Hundschlager'
(2186.16).

äger : âëger 2 jeger 'Jäger' (ä) : weger 'fürwahr' (âë)(2806.18;
3212.20).

ëger : âëger 13 leger 'Lager,' with ë, rhymes with the follow-
ing words with âë: neher 'näher,' treger (comp. 'träg'),
weger 'darfür; besser; fürwahr.'

ëgern : ëgern 3 belegern 'belägern'(ë) : wegern (LMHG wëgern

'sich widersetzen; weigern')(ê)(134.31;398.16;739.13).

эгert : эгert 1 belegert 'belägert' (ë) : wegert 'weigert' (ê)
(BR59.17).

өгret : өгret 1 högret 'knotig' : knögret 'knorrig' (2779.32).

егel : егel 1 flegel : holzschlegel (2708.24).

ägel : егel 1 negel (ä) : flegel (ë)(283.3).

өгel : егel 1 regel (ë) : flegel (ë)(3105.22).

егel : өгel 1 flegel (ë) : nachtvögel (pl. 'Nachtschwärmer' (ö)
(2383.21).

äglich : äglich 2 kleglich, teglich, unvertreglich (1612.13;
2508.23).

эgen : эgen 1 erkregen (Low German 'erkriegen') : legen (Low
German 'liegen')(548.14).

эgen : эgen 138 fegen 'kehren,' schlotfegen 'das Fegen des
Loches am Schornstein daraus der Rauch geht,' gelegen (part.
adj.), obgelegen (part. 'obliegen'), verlegen 'verjährt,
verlähmt; entwertet,' pfelegen, regen (intr. vb. 'steif ge-
streckt sein'; 'Regen; regnen'), segen 'Segen,' stegen (pl.
'Steg'), wegen (preposition; dat. pl. 'Weg'), unterwegen
'unterwegs,' verwegen (adj.); Nordwegen (with ë?).

эgen : эben 1 allwegen 'immer' : geben (1817.18).

egen : egen 81 gegen, begegen 'begegnen' (written once begegnen
[:schlegen]), legen, erlegen 'abschaffen,' verlegen 'versper-
ren, abschliessen; fertig machen; auslegen, mit Geld versehen,'
regen 'sich regen,' ratschlegen (dat. pl. 'Ratschlag'), be-
wegen.

эgen : egen 1 wegen (prep.) (ë) : anlegen 'ankleiden' (ë)(3135.5).

egen : ügen 5 entgegen, verlegen, regen 'sich regen,' bewegen,
with ë, rhyme with mögen, vermögen, with ü (276.8;754.34;
825.2;3235.30;3398.13).

egat : egat 4 begeget 'begegnet,' legat 'legt,' bewegat 'be-
wegt' (1399.7;1469.21;2557.32;3083.29).

egst : egst 2 legst, abschlegst 'abgewinnst,' tregst 'trägst,'
bewegst (wk. vb.)(1891.34;2090.11).

эк : эк 36 (k:k [4]; k:g [32]) dreck, fleck, keck, speck,
steck (intr. wk. vb. 'stecken'), weg 'Weg; weg,' hinweg, zweck
'Splitter, Hölzchen.' (k:k [2708.16;2939.9;2943.25;3059.27].)

ek : ek 4 beck 'Bäcker,' kleck 'ausreiche,' seck (pl. 'Sack'),
erstreck, Solneck, Vilseck (cities; with ë?)(685.33;955.15;
2785.28;2787.5).

ök : ök 1 böck (pl. 'Bock') : stöck (pl. 'Stock')(2419.24).

öker : öker 2 gegecker 'Geck' : lecker 'Gauner' (1306.16),
necker 'Fluss Neckar' (ö?)(3409.30).

äker : öker 1 weinhecker 'Weinhächer' (ä?) : lecker 'Gauner' (2142.25).

ökern : ökern 1 tellerleckern (dat. pl. 'Tellerschlecker') :
leckern (dat. pl.)(2049.37).

ekel : êkel 1 seckel (MHG seckel 'Säckel') : eckel (MG êckel 'Ekel'; MG ê < Gmc. ai; cf. Kluge; Paul DWb)(2305.9).

éken : éken 9 becken (MHG bëcken 'picken'), flecken (acc. sg. 'Fleck'; pl. 'kleines Ort'), beflecken, kecken (adj.),
schrecken 'Schrecken,' stecken ('Stecken'; intr. wk. vb.).

eken : eken 74 becken ('das Schmieden'; pl. 'Bäcker'), blecken 'entblößen,' decken, ecken (pl. 'Ecke'), klecken 'ausreichen,'
recken 'erregen; in die Höhe bringen; reichen,' secken,
schmecken, schrecken 'schrecken,' stecken (trans. vb.),
strecken, aufwecken; apotecken; Solnecken (city).

eken : öken 1 bedecken (ê) : röcken (pl. 'Rock')(ö)(2809.11).

ëkt : ëkt 6 gebeckt (part. MHG bëcken 'picken'), geschleckt 'Genäsch,' steckt (intr. wk. vb.); confect 'Zucker,' conterfect 'Bildnis' (477.6;696.12;931.5;1627.34;2470.18;3211.26).

ekt : ekt 70;1 (=MHG gt, kt) (kt:kt [15]; gt:gt [29]; kt:gt [27;1]) bleckt 'entblösst, geschlagen,' entdeckt, befleckt,
begett 'begegnet,' kleckt 'reicht aus,' legt, pflëgt (wk. vb.),
schlegt 'schlägt,' schmeckt, erschreckt, steckt (trans. wk. vb.), gestreckt, tregt 'trägt,' weckt. Triple rhyme: legt :
erschreckt : streckt (2611.1).

âech : âech 2;1 (=MHG h, ch) hernech 'hernähe,' geschech (pret. subj.), sech (pret. subj.)(981.9;1187.19). Triple rhyme: gech (MHG gâêche 'schnell') : geschech (pret. subj.) : sech (pret. subj.)(3119.5).

ëch : ëch 12;1 (=MHG h, ch) (h:h [6;1]; h:ch [6]) brech,
frech, jech (MHG gëch[h] 'jähzornig' [491.29]), verjech 'sage,'
geschech, sech, sprech. Triple rhyme: geschech : geschech :
versech (707.4).

ëch : ëg 5 (=MHG ëh, ëch; ëg) abbrech (1040.7;1227.9), geschech (3030.36), sech (814.17), ansprech (586.24); these words with MHG h or ch rhyme with weg 'Weg,' with MHG -c or -g.

ëch : âech 5;1 (=MHG ëh, ëch; âeh, âech) (ëh:âeh [1]; ëh:âech

- [3]; ëch:âeh [1]) einbrech, geschech (pres. subj.), sech, with ë, rhyme with nech 'Nähe' (616.36;695.25) and gesprech 'Gespräch' (515.13;2411.16;3314.20), both with âe. Triple rhyme: geschech (ë) : frech (ë) : gesprech (âe) (3069.20).
- ëg : âech 4 (ëg; âeh, âech) (ëg:âeh [2]; ëg:âech [2]) weg 'Weg' (888.11;896.8;899.3), zuweg (adv.) (2592.31), with ë, rhyme with geschech (pret. subj.), sech (pret. subj.), and gesprech 'Gespräch,' with âe.
- ëher : ëher 2 aufseher : speher 'Späher' (483.17;2677.23).
- ëcher : ëcher 4 ehebrecher, berstecher 'Bärstecher,' seustecher 'Säustecher,' zecher 'Sauer' (1442.9;2015.25;2687.20;2966.25).
- ëher : âeher 1 schweher 'Schwäher' (ë) : neher 'näher' (âe) (938.31).
- âehen : âejen 2 schmehen (h) : drehen (j) (1807.29;2950.5).
- ëhen : ëhen 1 entlehen 'entleihen' : schlehen (acc. sg. MHG slêhe 'Schlehe') (3222.17).
- ëhen : ên 2 flehen (MHG flêhen), manlehen (MHG manslêhen 'unter der männlichen Nachkommenschaft erbliches Lehn') rhyme with kindswehen (pl. MHG kindswê) and stehen (MHG stên 'stehen') (1405.26;3233.22).
- ëhen : ëhen 517;4 jehen 'sagen, melden,' geschehen, sehen, unversehen (adv.), erspehen. Triple rhymes: 66.22;2135; 577.4;1438.1.
- ëchen : ëchen 181 brechen, frechen (adj.), rechen 'rächen; rechnen; der Rechen; das Rechnen,' sprechen, stechen, ringleinstechen (a game), zechen 'trinken; bezahlen, strafen.'
- ëhen : âehen 84;3 jehen, geschehen, sehen, with ë, rhyme with the following with âe: nehen (obl. cases 'Nähe'; 'nahe kommen'), schmehen 'schmähen.' Triple rhymes: geschehen (ë) : sehen (ë) : nehen (âe) (1026.2;1107.12;1699.20).
- ëhen : âejen 54 jehen, sehen, with ëh, rhyme with the following with âej: aufblehen 'aufblähen,' drehen, krehen 'krähen,' mehen 'mähen,' annehen 'annähen,' seen 'säen,' anwehen.
- ëhen : ëhen 2 geschehen and versehen, with ëh, rhyme with entlehen 'entleihen' and lehen 'Lehngut,' with êh (3170.24;3314.2).
- âecht : âecht 3 bedecht 'bedächte,' brecht 'brächte,' geschmecht 'geschmäht' (363.24;866.10;2494.25).
- ëcht : ëcht 216 (=MHG ht, cht) (ht:ht [211]; cht:cht [0]; ht:cht [5]) fecht 'fechtet,' gefecht 'Kampf,' knecht, recht, schlecht 'aufrichtig, schlicht; schlecht,' secht 'seht,' specht 'späht,'

sprecht, zecht 'bezahlt; bestraft'; Albrecht, Engelbrecht, Ruprecht. The ht:cht rhymes are: 1762.9;1916.7;2458.7;2646.13; 2962.28. knechte : rechte : sechte 'seht' : schlechte (2035.24;3078.20;3102.25;2403.29).

ächt : ëcht 31 (=MHG ht) geschlecht (MHG geslächte 'Geschlecht') rhymes with fecht 'kämpfe,' knecht, recht, secht 'seht'; Ruprecht, with ë.

ëcht : echt 1 recht (ë) : geschwecht (e) (2187.20).⁴

echt : öcht 3 (=MHG eht, egt) hecht 'Hecht,' geschwecht 'geschändet, erniedrigt,' and schlegt 'schlägt,' with e, rhyme with mecht (MHG möhte) (365.10;2241.22;BR22.11).

ächt : âecht 9 mecht (MHG mächte 'möchte')⁵ (598.6;1073.32;1763.24; 2751.9;2883.12;BR19.25) and geschlecht 'Geschlecht' (361.5; 372.6;1214.22), with ä, rhyme with the following with âe: brecht 'brächte,' decht 'dächte,' durchecht 'geächtet,' geschmecht 'geschmäht.'

ëcht : âecht 71;5 recht 'Recht,' schlecht 'schlicht; schlecht,' secht 'ihr seht'; Albrecht, with ëht, rhyme with the following with âeht: brecht, gedecht, durchecht 'geächtet,' geschmecht; rechte : verschmechte (3142.28). Triple rhymes: 821.32;3040.29;3041.30;3044.7;3071.15.

ächter : ächter 2 gelechter 'Gelächter' : wechter 'Wächter' (945.33;2690.23).

ächter : ächter 2 gelechter and wechter, with äch rhyme with rechter (adj.; adv.) and fechter, with äh (985.24;2598.7).

ächten : ächten 12 (=MHG äht) fechten, knechten, rechten, schlechten (adj.).

ächten : ächten 1 nechten (dat. pl. 'Nacht') (ä) : rechten (adj.) (ë) (2702.17).

⁴If, through typographical error, we are to read geschmecht for geschwecht, we would have a pure ë : âe rhyme; nor would the meaning be changed, for both words mean 'geschändet, erniedrigt.' Hence, in view of this and the fact that before ch Ayrrer seems to make a careful distinction between open and closed e, I suggest the emendation: read geschmecht for geschwecht.

²It is quite possible that Ayrrer knew both mächte and möchte for the pret. subj. of MHG mugen, mügen, megen. For ä in mächte cf. Zwierzina, ZfdA, XLIV, 299-306. Modern Nürnberg's meXat may conceivably go back to MHG mächte, for in this dialect MHG ä when lengthened > ē (Gebhardt, § 57.1); but see Gebhardt, § 62 note for another explanation.

ächten : ächten 1 nechten (ä) : brechten 'brächten' (âe)
(222.26).

ächten : ächten 1 rechten (adj.) (ë) : umbrechten 'umbrächten'
(âe) (826.25).

ächts : ächts 1 rechts (gen. 'Recht') : schlechts 'schlechtes'
(679.33).

ächts : ächts 1 geschlechts (ä) : Andechts (a city; with ë?)
(BR38.21).

ächtig : ächtig 6 mechtig, prechtig (54.2; 106.30; 114.25; 298.21;
613.36; 2604.18).

ächtiger : ächtiger 1 mechtiger : prechtiger (BR27.21).

ächtigsten : ächtigsten 1 mechtigsten : unprechtigsten (writ-
ten unprechlichsten) (535.9).

ächtung : ächtung 1 anfechtung 'Kampf' (ë) : durchächtung
'gerichtliche Verfolgung' (âe) (2471.33).

ächst : ächst 1 sechst (pres. subj. MHG sēhen) : brechst (pres.
subj. MHG brēchen) (417.4).

ächzen : ächzen 4 echzen (ä) : lechzen (ë) (339.27; 2792.13;
3192.8; 3226.10).

ächzet : ächzet 1 echzet (ä) : lechzet (ë) (2066.24).

âes : âes 2 (=MHG s; z) kes 'Käse' (s) : gesess 'Wohnsitz;
Hintern' (z) (2501.19; 2634.32).

ôes : ôes 5 (=MHG s; z) (s:s [1]; z:z [2]; s:z [2]) bös
'böse' (s), gröss 'Grösse' (z), erlös 'erlöse' (s), anstöss
(pl. 'Anstoss') (z), getöss 'Getöse, Krach' (z) (250.29; 1162.7;
1523.23; 1860.20; 2198.9).

ës : ës 11; 1 (=MHG ss; z) (z:z [9]; z:ss [2]) gefress 'ge-
fressen' (2882.11), vergess 'Vergessenheit; vergesse,' mess
'Messe'; possess (with ë?; BR62.1) "s" (letter of the alpha-
bet; with ë? [2882.11]). Triple rhyme: mess : vergess :
press 'Schar' (3046.1).

ës : âes 2 (=MHG z) vergess (ë) : ress 'böse,' truchsess
'Truchsess' (âe) (535.19; 648.31).

ës : ôes 1 (=MHG s; z) fress (z) : bös (s) (2897.23).

ëser : ëser 1 (=MHG s) leser : verweser 'Stellvertreter'
(260.31).

ëser : ëser 4 (=MHG zz) besser, messer (294.12; 344.6; 830.14;
2137.15).

ôesen : ôesen 22 (=MHG s; z) (s:s [20]; s:z [2]) bösen and
erlösen, with s, rhyme 20 times with each other and twice with

entblößen and anstößen, both with z (1179.7;3316.4).

essen : ēsen 289;1 (=MHG s; z) (s:s [104;1]; z:z [180]; s:z [5]) The following with MHG s rhyme with each other: besen 'Besen,' lesen, auserlesen (adj.), genesen, wesen 'Wesen,' abwesen 'Abwesenheit,' gewesen (part. MHG wēsen), verwesen 'vertreten'; triple rhyme: furlesen 'vorlesen' : gewesen : genesen (445.23). The following with z rhyme with each other: essen, fressen, gessen 'gegessen,' messen, besessen (part. adj.), gesessen (part. 'sitzen'), vergessen. gewesen (with s) rhymes with gefressen, ermessen, vergessen (with z).
essen : āsen 2 (=MHG ēz; āz) essen and ermessen, with ē, rhyme with sessen (pret. subj.), truchsessen (acc. sg. 'Truchsess'), with āe (635.29;1082.16).

ēsens : ēsens 1 (=MHG s) lesens (gen. 'Lesen') : wesens (gen. 'Wesen') (1566.23).

āesig : āesig 1 (=MHG z) fressig (MHG vrāēzic 'gefrässig') : messig 'mässig' (2572.15).

ōest : ōest 28 (s:s [25]; s:z [3] = 744.4;768.15;1637.13) ent-blōsst, bōst 'böseste,' grōsst 'Grösste,' lōst, rōst (pres. MHG rōesten 'zur Verzweiflung kommen'), gerōst (part. MHG rōesen 'zieren').

ēst : ēst 9 (=MHG s) hest 'hättest,' stest 'stehst,' test 'tättest.'

āest : ōest 2 (=MHG z) lesst 'lässt' (āe) : understōsst 'verstōsst,' stōsst (ōe) (2604.13;3341.5).

ēst : ōst 4 (s:s [2]; z:z [1]; s:z [1]) esst 'ihr esst,' fest 'Fest,' lest 'ihr lest,' vergesst, gewest (part. MHG wk. vb. gewēsen) (15.7;746.29;2717.24).

est : est 85;1 (=MHG s) best (adj.), fest (adv.), gest 'Gäste,' nest 'Nest,'⁶ verhundest 'verhundest' (with e?), west 'wüsste.' Triple rhyme: best : nest : fest (adv.) (3115.6).

ēst : āest 9 fest 'Fest,' gewest (part. MHG gewēsen), with ē, rhyme with lesst 'lässt' (=MHG lāe-st [to lân] or lāez-st [to lāzen]?).

ēst : ēst 1 gewest (part. MHG gewēsen) : hest 'hättest' (ē) (3054.9).

est : ēst 1 best (adj.) (e) : hest 'hättest' (ē) (1398.12).

⁶MHG nest instead of nöst; cf. Michels, § 36; Franck, ZfdA, XXV, 218; Luick, PBB, XI, 502, XIII, 589; Kauffmann, PBB, XIII, 393. Sachs has MHG nest (cf. Bloomfield, p. 493).

est : ôest 1 best (est) : grösst 'grösste' (ôest) (2074.28).

ester : ester 24 fester (comp. 'fest'), gester 'gestern,'
schwester.

ôesten : ôesten 1 rôsten 'verzweifeln' : trôsten (3030.14).

esten : esten 44 allerbesten, festen 'Festung; fest,' befesten
'befestigen,' gesten 'Gästen,' kesten 'Roggenbehälter' (with
q?), mesten 'füttern,' westen 'wüssten.'

äsch : äsch 2 genesch 'Genäsch' rhymes with esch (a fish)
(3186.2) and with verzesch 'verzerre' (to OHG zascôn 'zerren,
schleppen'; cf. Dwb) (3186.15).

esch : esch 1 resch 'rasch' : wesch 'Wäsche' (3054.32).

äsch : esch 1 zesch 'liebliches Frauenzimmer' (to MHG zäschen
'herumstreifen, schleppen') (ä) : wesch (q) (3055.4).

äschen : esch 1 zeschen (ä) : leschen 'löschen' (q) (2066.32).

äf : ëf 1 widereff 'wiederäffe' (ä) : treff 'treffe' (ë)
(1809.23).

äfen : ëfen 2 effen 'affen' (ä) : treffen (ë) (2661.5; 2853.16).

äft : ëft 3 gescheft 'Geschäft' (ä) : trefft 'ihr trefft' (ë)
(23.4; 206.24; 1218.27).

äft : æft 1 gescheft : schleft 'schläft' (æ) (1237.30).

epfen : öpfen 2 schepfen 'herausschöpfen' (q) : köpfen (dat.
pl. 'Kopf') (ö) (2944.21); schepfen 'beisitzender Urteilsprecher'
(q) : köpfen 'Kopf abhauen' (ö) (3294.21).

§ 3 i-sounds (=MHG i, ie, ü, üe; also
ī, īe, ō, ē, ē, and q)

ie : ie 87;1 je (MHG ie), blie (pret. 'blasen'; 3418.14), die
(fem., acc. sg. [1443.29; 2209.14; 2329.21]; masc., nom. pl.
[2325.9; 2571.17; 2982.24]), hie 'hier,' nie, sie (=MHG sie, ex-
cept 2189.30, where sie = MHG siu), wie, zie 'ziehe' (665.20;
1441.25). Triple rhyme: sie : nie : hie (432.26).

üe : üe 5 früh (adv.), küh (pl. 'Kuh'), müh 'Mühe' (69.22;
237.10; 669.16; 2929.20; 3061.11).

ī : ī 7 The following foreign words rhyme together (=MHG ie,
je): glori (MHG glôrje), histori (MHG historje), Jannuari,
memori (MHG memôrje), Pauli, philosophi (MHG philosophie),
victori (66.32; 576.28; 3160.13; 3213.27; BR63.16). geschri (Low
German 'Geschrei') : si (Low German 'sei') (548.34).

ie : üe 13;2 hie, nie, wie, with -ie, rhyme with the following
with -üe: brüh 'Brühe' (819.21), früh, küh, müh. Triple

rhymes: allhie : nie : früh (3111.24); hie : müh : hie (3122.23).

ie : i 1 nie (ie) : sih (imperative 'sehen') (2210.32).

ie : f 31 die (masc., nom. pl.; 2553.11; 2576.9), hie, je, nie, sie (MHG sie), with ie, rhyme with the following foreign words with i: Alexi, Apostoli, Appollinari, Augusti (Monat August), Bonefaci, comedi, cosmographi, Erasmi, Februari, Heinrici, Horatii, Jannuari, Jovi, Juli, Juni, Licomedi, Lamparti (BR63.12; elsewhere this word rhymes with -ei), Luci, Marti 'März' (BR50.8), Pauli, Pirami, secretari, Servii, tragedi, Tullii.

ie-en : ie-en 36 fliehen, empfliehen, ziehen (with MHG ieh).

ie-en : i-en 3 ziehen (ieh) : geliehen, geschrien, both with i (184.33; 1594.24; 3200.14).

ie-en : üe-en 35 ziehen (ieh) : brühen (MHG brüejēn 'brühen'), mühen (MHG müejēn).

ir : ir 344;1 begir 'Verlangen,' dir, ir 'ihr,' mir, schmir (MHG smirwe 'Schmiere'). mirē 'mir' : dirē 'dir' (3150.22).

Triple rhyme: gir 'Gierde' : mir : dir (3286.29).

irr : irr 1 irr 'irre' : geschirr 'Gerätschaft' (2818.5).

ier : ier 34 bier 'Bier,' erfrier, verlier, schier (adv.), stier 'Stier,' tier 'Tier,' vier; Trier 'Trêves.' These rhyme with the following foreign words: curier 'heil machen,' malvasier 'Art Wein,' moderier, papier, revier 'Gegend, Bezirk,' supplicier 'bete,' turnier.

ür : ür 26 bür (MHG bürde 'Bürde'; loss of d; 464.14), gebür (MHG gebür 'das was sich gebührt'), für, spür 'spüre,' tür 'Tür,' wür (pret. subj. 'werden'; loss of -d; cf. Kauffmann, § 149, note 2 [666.20; 922.13; 1673.8]).

ir : irr 3 dir, mir, wagenschmir, with ir, rhyme with irr 'irre,' geschirr 'Gerätschaft' (2969.20; 3181.24; 3338.3).

ir : ier 196;2 begir 'Verlangen,' dir, ir 'ihr,' mir, wir, with MHG i, rhyme with the following with ie: bier, hier, verlier, schier, tier, vier, zier 'Zier'; and with the following foreign words with -ie: confirmier, exequier, malvasier, manier, papier, probier, rapier, regier, revier, reversier, spazier, spendier, turnier. Triple rhymes: dir : mir : schier (3073.35); ir : mir : schier (3113.6).

ir : ür 241;4 dir, ir, mir, schmir (2591.13), wir, with i, rhyme with the following with ü: gebür, für, spür, tür, wür

(pret. subj. 'werden'; 18.36;29.19;2190.33). Triple rhymes: 31.1;3071.33;3072.4;3122.17.

ir : ier 15;2 dir, ir, mir, with i, rhyme with the following with üe: führ (pret. subj. 'fahren'; pres. ind. 'führen'), rühr (pres. 'rühren'), schwür (pret. subj. MHG swern 'schwören' [938.10;2720.23]). Triple rhymes: ir : mir : erführ (2078.11); wir : unterschür (written unterschier; pret. subj. MHG intr. st. vb. schörn, with the meaning 'schnell eilen'; cf. Lexer, II, col. 710) : mir (2611.31).

ier : irr 1 tier : trunkgeschirr (561.8).

ier : ür 29 bier, erfrier, verlier, schier, zier; and the following foreign words: absolvier, collationier, melancolier, papier, regier, tractier, turnier; these, with ie, rhyme with the following with ü: gebür, für, tür, wür 'würde' (2719.8).

ier : üer 5 schier, tier; examinier, papier, purgier; these words with ie rhyme with the following with üe: anrühr (MHG anrüern 'anrühren'), führ (pres. 'führen') (385.2;862.19; 1520.10;2392.20;3012.20).

ir : ier : ür 1 mir : schier : für (3072.33).

ir : êr 1 ir 'ihr' (i) : er 'Ehre' (ê) (2327.11).

üerer : üerer 3 rädleinfürer, aufrüer, anschnüer (182.30; 456.5;847.19).

üerer : ierer 1 fürer 'Führer' : regierer (BR86.31).

üerern : üerern 1 aufrüern (dat. pl. 'Aufführer') : rädlein-fürern (452.21).

üeric : iric 1 aufrürig : nachgürig 'gierig nach Rache' (2496.9).

iric : ierlich 1 begüig 'begierig' : zierlich (2058.17).

ürm : örm 1 würm (pl. 'Wurm') : unförm ('Unart, Schmach'; written unfürm; to MHG vorm, with mutation in the plural) (1082.22).

ürmen : örmen 1 stürmen : förmern (mutated form of MHG vormen) (1530.27).

irn : irn 8 birn 'Birne,' dirn 'Dirne,' hirn 'Hirn,' schmirn (MHG smirwen 'schmieren'), geschirn (MHG geschirrn=part. MHG schrifen 'schreiben' [1362.31]; cf. Michels, § 257; Lexer), zwirn 'zwirnen' (1883.12;2631.31;2707.34;2929.15;3085.15; 3087.29;3089.20).

irrn : irrn 2 irrn 'irren' : verwirrn 'verwirren' (2451.6; 2567.19).

iern : iern 165 friern 'frieren,' verliern, viern 'um vier grösser machen, in vier Stücke zerteilen,' ziern 'zieren';

- absolviern, agiern, banketiern, cogitiern, distilliern, fantasiern, gassiern 'auf der Gasse spazieren,' hoffiern, pettschiern (pl. MHG pitschier 'Pettschaft, Siegel'; MHG pitschiern 'siegeln'), probiern, promoviern, recitiern, regiern, spaciern, studiern, tribuliert, vexiern, etc.⁷
- üern : üern 5 rürn 'rühren' : fürn (pres. 'führen') (270.9; 1983.31; 2559.23; 2609.9; 3032.36).
- iern : iern 29 birn, dirn, hirn, schmirn, gestirn 'Gestirn,' zwirn 'Zwirn,' with i, rhyme with the following with ie: verliern; curiern, disputiern, hoffiern, praesentiert, regiern, studiern, stuliert 'auf dem Richterstuhl sitzen,' tractiert, vexiert.
- irn : irn 4 birn, schmirn, with i, rhyme with gebürn (MHG gebürn 'gebühren') (2881.12; 3034.24; 3275.7) and with schürn (written schirn; to MHG schürn 'schüren, Feuer aufregen') (500.25).
- irn : üern 17 birn, dirn, irn 'ihren' (1308.7), schmirn, gestirn, with i, rhyme with fürn 'führen,' rürn 'rühren,' with üe.
- iern : ürn 58 verliern, ziern; absolviern, agiern, disputiert, spaziern, vexiert, etc., with ie, rhyme with gebürn 'gebühren,' spürn 'spüren,' würn 'würden' (with loss of -d; 2578.2), with ü.
- iern : üern 104;2 erfriern, verliern, tiern (dat. pl. 'Tier'), ziern; many foreign words with iern. These rhyme with fürn 'führen,' and rürn, with üe.
- ürn : üern 37 gebürn 'gebühren,' zuschürn (written zuschirn; to MHG schürn 'das Feuer durchstossen' [373.10]), spürn, würn 'würden' (2594.17), with ü, rhyme with fürn (pret. subj. 'fahren'; inf. and pres. 'führen'), with üe.
- üern : örn 1 fürn 'führen' (üe) : beschern (written beschirn; inf. MHG beschern 'zuteilen') (1475.23).
- irb : irb 2 verdirb 'verderbe,' stirb 'sterbe,' wirb 'werbe' (2084.7; 3192.32).
- urb : urb 8 verdürb (pret. subj. 'verderben'), mürb (MHG mürwe 'mürbe'), stürb (pret. subj. 'sterben'), erwürb (pret. subj. 'erwerben').
- irb : urb 2 verdirb, stirb : würb (1286.9; 2073.8).

⁷For a detailed discussion of these foreign words with iern in both Ayres and Sachs, see Albrecht, pp. 39-46.

irbt : irbt 3 verdirbt, stirbt, wirbt (1500.9;2065.7;2604.27).

ürge : irchen 1 erwürge : kirchen (3095.29).

irt : irt 1 schirt (pres. MHG schërn, here with the meaning 'belästigen,' cf. Lexer) : wirt 'Wirt' (1756.1).

irt : irrt 4 hirt 'Hirt,' wird 'wird,' with ir, rhyme with irrt, verwirrt, with irr (704.8;2292.25;2669.3;3201.9).

iert : iert 41 verliert, viert 'der vierte,' ziert; numerous foreign words with ie: curiert, probiert, promoviert, re-giert, spaziert, studiert, vexiert, etc.

ürt : ürt 17 (=MHG d, t, tt) bürd 'Bürde,' gebürt (part. adj. MHG gebürtet 'gebürtig'; pres. MHG gebürn 'gebühren'), zugeschürt (to MHG schürn 'das Feuer durchstossen' [818.28]), würd 'Würde; würde, würdet.'

üert : üert 2 berürt 'berührt' : verfürt 'verführt' (183.19; 2988.25).

irt : iert 30 geschmirt, wird 'wird,' wirt 'Wirt'; these with i rhyme with the following with ie: verpetschiert 'siegeln' (2256.14), ziert 'Zierde; ziert'; absolviert, balsamiert, commendiert, dediciert, dictiert, exequiert, informiert, injuriert, probiert, studiert, regiert, staffiert, tractiert, tyrannisiert, vexiert.

irrt : iert 1 irrt : staffiert (2798.6).

irt : ürt 24 hirt, geschmirt, wird, wirt; these words with i rhyme with gebürt, spürt, würd 'würde.'

irrt : ürt 2 irrt, geirrt : gebürt (691.24;2162.25).

irt : üert 9 beschmirt, wird (i) : berürt 'gerührt.'

iert : ürt 41;2 verliert, verpetschiert 'versiegelt,' geziert; absolviert, appelliert, confirmiert, delegiert, exequiert, guberniert, hoffiert, einlogiert, promoviert, regiert, reponiert, spaziert, studiert, tractiert; these words with ie rhyme with the following with ü: gebürt (adv.), undurchstürt (part. adj. to MHG stürn 'stochern'; 2255.29), würd 'würdet.'

iert : üert 17;1 geziert; disponsiert, falliert, practiciert, proviert, publiciert, racioniert, regiert, studiert, tractiert, tribulliert; these words with ie rhyme with the following with üe: verfürt, berürt. Triple rhyme: promoviert : vexiert : fürt 'er führt' (3042.3).

ürt : üert 24 gebürt (adv.), gespürt, würd, with ü, rhyme with geführt, with üe.

iert : ürt : üert 1 regiert : gebürt : geführt (114.11).

irten : ierten 1 begirten : zierten (BR27.5).

irten : ürten 3 bewirten rhymes 2 times with ürten (pl. MHG ürte 'Zeche') (1770.29; 2732.35), while seelhirten 'Pfaffen' (i) : würden (dat. pl. 'Würde') (1331.17).

ürts : ürts 3 (=MHG z) kürz (pres. and imperative MHG kürzen 'kurz machen'; and 'die Kürze'), stürz 'stürze,' würz 'Kraut' (1252.28; 2485.17; 3297.21).

ürtsen : ürtsen 3 verkürzen, schürzen (dat. pl. MHG schurze), stürzen (285.29; 2111.13; 2632.12).

ürtst : ürtst 8 verkürtzt : gestürtzt.

irsch : irsch : irsch 1 (=MHG rs, rz) birsch (pres. sg. MHG birsen 'mit Spürhunden jagen') : zerknirsch (to MHG knirschen 'knirschen') : hirsch (MHG hirz 'Hirsch') (3067.11).

irschen : irschen 2 (=MHG rs, rz) birschen 'jagen' : hirschen (dat. sg. 'Hirsch') (2197.5; 2197.19).

ürst : ürst 19 dürst 'dürste,' gedürst (MHG getürste 'kühn'), fürst 'Fürst,' würst (pl. MHG Wurst).

irst : irst 3 wirst (2. sg. pres. 'werden') : dürst, fürst 'Fürst,' spürst (472.31; 1719.2; 2736.25).

ürst : üerst 1 spürst : hinfürst (pres. 'hinführen') (2202.19).

ürsten : ürsten 9 bürsten (dat. sg. 'Bürste'), dürsten 'dürsten,' gedürsten, fürsten 'Fürsten.'

il : il 242; 2 (=MHG l, ll) (l:l [33]; ll:ll [49]; l:ll [161]) sigil (MHG sigel 'Siegel' [: will; 2550.36]), spil 'Spiel,' stil 'ich stehle' (2263.1), stil 'Stiel,' still 'Stille; still,' vil 'viel,' will 'Wille; er will,' zil 'Ziel'; vigil (MHG vigilje 'Gottesdienst am Vorabend'; BR83.10). Triple rhymes: vil : will : besenstil 'Besenstiel' (2144.1); vil : will : still (3376.15).

iel : iel 1 fiel (pret. 'fallen') : gefiel (pret. 'gefallen') (1025.14).

il : iel 4 spil, zil, with i, rhyme with fiel, gefiel, überfiel, with ie (98.21; 1998.2; 3062.2; BR36.24).

il : ül 7 (=MHG il, ill; ül, üll) spil (il) rhymes with mül 'Mühle' (ül) (560.9; 2179.8; 2531.6; 2771.13; 2778.27); will (ill) rhymes with erfüll 'erfülle,' with üll (1621.3), and with mül 'Mühle' (ül) (2765.6).

ilen : ilen 6 spilen 'spielen,' gespilen 'Spielgenossen,' vilen (obl. cases 'viel') (2130.12; 2145.21; 2424.4; 2712.14; 2979.35); spilen : befilen (MHG bevīln 'verdriesslich sein'; here, with

'lassen' = 'sich zu viel werden lassen' (2459.20).

illen : illen 20 grillen 'Grille; Schreien,' stillen, willen
(obl. cases 'Wille'); crocodillen (851.14), Aprillen (2855.30;
BR80.4).

illen : üllen 17 grillen, stillen, willen, with ill, rhyme with
erfüllen, with üll.

üelen : ühelen 1 brüllen (MHG brüelen 'brüllen') : rüllen
(noun; to MHG rühelen, rücheln 'wiehern, brüllen, röcheln';
cf. Götze)(3039.28).

ilt : ilt 68 (=MHG lt [=ld, lt, llt], l+t) (lt:lt [60]; lt:l+t
[8]) bild, gebilt 'gebildet,' gilt (pres. 'gelten'), mild,
schild, gespilt 'gespielt' (=l+t), gestillt, wild 'wild,' wilt
(MHG wilt 'willst').

ielt : ielt 1 abfielt 'ihr fielt ab' : hielt (pret. 'halten')
(186.14).

ilt : ielt 5 mild, spilt, with il, rhyme with hielt, with iel
(569.17;1183.6;3367.15;BR65.21;BR74.28).

ilt : ült 9 (=MHG ild, ilt, illt; ült, üllt) bild, gebilt,
gilt, erhilt 'tönt, klingt' (written erhüelt; to MHG intr. st.
vb. hellen 'klingen, tönen'; cf. DWb)(537.22), wild, wilt
'willst,' with i, rhyme with the following with ü: erfüllt
and gült (MHG gülte 'Rente, Einkommen').

ielt : üelt 1 hielt (ie) : kült (pres. MHG küelen 'kühl machen')
(3236.18).

ilder : ilder 1 mansbilder : milder (2674.17).

iltten : ielten 1 spiltten 'spielten' : hielten (3380.28).

ilts : ilts 1 (=MHG z) filz : milz (2659.16).

illich : illich 2 (=MHG illie, illfch) willig (MHG willie)
rhymes with itself (2426.22) and with billig (MHG billfche
'billig')(688.10).

illichen : illichen 1 (=MHG illigen, illfchen) willigen (ig) :
unbilligen (fch)(689.22).

illicht : illicht 1 (=MHG illigt, illfcht) gewilligt : gebilligt
(686.28).

im : im 28;1 (=MHG m, mm) grimm, ergrimm, im 'ihm,' nim, stimm;
Beneventim. ime 'ihm' : grimme 'grimm' (3147.14). Triple
rhyme: im 'ihm' : grimm : stimm (3039.25).

imer : iemer 26 (=MHG mm) gewimmer, zimmer, frauenzimmer, with
i, rhyme with immer and nimmer, with ie.

ümer : ümer 1 (=MHG m, mb) drummer (pl. MHG drum 'End') : küm-

mer 'ich kümmer' (mb)(2231.16).

imer : ümer 2 frauenzimmer : bekümmert (846.36;1419.22).

imel : imel 1 gewimmel : himmel (MHG himel)(2953.21).

imt : imt 1 (=MHG m; mm) schwimmt : nimmt (1464.33).

imt : üemt 1 nimmt : rümt (pres. MHG rüemen 'rühmen')(338.32).

impf : impf 9 glimpf 'Angemessenheit' : schimpf.

impf : ümpf 2 schimpf (i) : strümpf (pl. 'Strumpf')(ü)(2362.9; 2770.10).

in : in 607;5 (=MHG n, nn, nd) bin, hin, in 'ihn,' drin 'darinne,' sinn 'Sinn,' besinn 'besinne,' gewinn; ehebrecherin, freundin, gräfin, Griechin, herzogin, keiserin, königin, kupplerin, meisterin, priorin, täterin, termin, trosterin; Comin, Delphin, Pipin, Sualocin (anagram for Nicolaus), Valentin. gewinn and in 'ihn' rhyme with find 'finde' (written finn; loss of -d; cf. Gebhardt, §112.3a)(2412.20;2444.34). Triple rhymes: 310.26;958.7;2092.22;3170.2;3389.20. I emend: "wie fro bin ich : ... hierin" to "wie fro ich bin" (2603.33) and vorhin (: Sinnen [dat. pl. 'Sinn']) to vorhinne (2199.19). ? ir 'ihr' : Valentin (1608.8).

in : in 3 in (Low German 'hinein'), pin (Low German 'Pein'), sin (Low German 'sein')(548.4;548.12;548.22).

in : in 8 bin, hin, sinn, with i, rhyme with the following words with the ending MHG in: nachbarin, esselin, Pilgramin (masc.), rubin.

in : ien 5 bin, in 'ihn,' with i, rhyme with dien (pres. and shortened plural of 'dienen'), erschien (pret. 'erscheinen'), with ie (2852.31;3018.21;3282.7;3297.14). erschiene 'erschien' : bine 'bin' (3031.11).

in : ün 9 (=MHG n, nn, nd; ün, ünn) bin, in 'ihn,' drin 'darinne,' sinn, gewinn, with i, rhyme with the following with ü: günn (subj. 'gönnen'), künn (subj. 'können'), sün (pl. MHG sun 'Sohn'). find (written finn) : künn 'könne' (959.21).

ün : üen 1 sün : kün 'kühn' (146.1).

inen : inen 166 (=MHG nn, nd) brinnen 'brennen,' hinne (adv.), innen 'inne werden,' darinnen, rinne 'rennen,' sinnen (pl. 'Sinn'), besinnen, spinnen, gewinnen, zinnen. These words, with the exception of spinnen, rhyme 79 times with finden, written finne.

ünen : ünen 3 günnen 'gönnen' : künnen 'können,' sünen 'Söhnen' (1542.24;1870.17;1984.22).

inen : ienen 3 gewinnen : verdienen (2607.23;2805.3;3337.5).

inen : ünen 64 brinnen, hinne, innen 'inne werden,' darinnen, rinnen, sinnen, besinnen, gewinnen, zinnen, with i, rhyme with the following words with ü: günne, künne. These words with ü rhyme 25 times with finden, written finnen.

ienen : ünen 1 erschiene : süene (pl. 'Sohn')(672.10).

ünein : üenein 1 muttersönein (ü) : galgenhünein (üe) (3369.13).

int : int 237;3 (=MHG nd, nt, nnt) bind, blind, brinnt 'brennt,' find, grint 'Grindkopf,' kind, lind, rind 'Stier,' geschwind, verschwind, sind, gesind, gesinnt, wind, überwind. finde : geschwinde (3089.11). Triple rhymes: 1022.14;2203.16;3389.29.

ünt : ünt 25 (=MHG nd, nnt) brünnt (pret. subj. MHG brinnen), fünd (pret. subj. 'finden'), günnt 'gönnt,' künd 'könnte,' verkünd 'verkündige,' sünd (pl. 'Sünde'), versünd 'versünde,' anzünd.

int : ient 3 find, kind, with i, rhyme with dient (172.27;308.3;3150.9).

int : ünt 92 blind, brinnt, find, kind, lind, geschwind, sind (twice written send [:künt, written könt] 57.25;1412.4), gesind (n.), wind, überwind, gewinnt; these words with i rhyme with the following with ü: günnt, unergründt 'unergründet,' hünd (pl. 'Hund'), künd 'könnte,' sünd, anzünd. bindet, sinet : günnet (841.35;1465.5;3034.20).

int : üent 4 kind, geschwind, gesind, with i, rhyme with stünd (pret. subj. 'stehen'; with üe)(146.19;1492.36;1862.1;3266.8).

ünt : üent 15 fünd (pret. subj. 'finden'), künd 'könnte,' with ü, rhyme with stünd (pret. subj. 'stehen').

inder : inder 48 (=MHG nd, nt, nn) binder, finder, hinder (MHG hinder 'hinter'), verhinder, inder (adv., comp. MHG inne [270.25;2476.7;2983.4;2984.30;3177.27;3330.27]), kinder, linder, minder, schinder, winter.

inder : ünder 1 kinder : sünder (3049.5).

indern : indern 9 blindern 'blind machen,' hindern, kindern, lindern, mindern.

indern : ündern 3 hindern, kindern : plündern (593.19;654.25;1530.31).

indert : ündert 1 verhindert : plündert (1460.17).

inden : inden 71;1 (=MHG nd, nt) binden, erblinden, dinten

(sg. [obl. cases] and pl. 'Tinte'), finden, hinden (MHG hinter 'hinter'), kinden (dat. pl. 'Kind'), linden 'Lindenbaum,' schinden, verschinden 'verschlingen,' winden. Triple rhyme: finden : überwinden : kinden (1263.14).

ünden : ünden 4 künden 'könnten,' sünden, entzünden (1051.1; 2572.7; 2646.21; 2672.14).

inden : ünden 14 finden, schinden, schwinden, winden, with i, rhyme with the following with ü: künden 'könnten,' künden 'kündigen,' sünden, anzünden.

inden : üenden 1 finden : unterstünden (pret. subj. 'unterstehen; halten') (381.18).

inds : inds 1 kinds : gesinds (98.9).

indst : indst 2 findst : gewindst (2670.11). überwindest : findest (1495.8).

ündig : ündig 1 ausbündig : kündig (15.11).

ing : ing 125;1 bring, ding, geling, ring, gering, sing, zer-spring, bezwing; findling, jüngling, kämmerling. Triple rhyme: einbring : geling : ding (1905.31).

ieng : ieng 6 fiing, giing, hiing (49.2; 629.34; 887.14; 1275.18; 1610.15; 3260.28).

ing : ieng 50;1 bring, ding, -ling, ring, gering, schwing, with i, rhyme with the following with ie: fiing, empfiing, giing, hiing. Triple rhyme: ding (pl.) : anfiing : begiing (468.2).

ink : ink 1 versink : ertrink (2379.13).

inger : inger 7 finger, geringer, singer, springer, zwinger 'Raum zwischen einer Stadt- oder Scholssmauer und dem Graben.' finger and ringer 'geringer machen' rhyme 4 times with winger (from MHG winiger, comp. of wing 'wenig,' cf. DWb) (672.18; 1016.22; 1646.11; 2792.20).

ingert : üngert 1 geringert 'kleiner gemacht' (i) : durchhüngert (written durchhungert; this is MG mutation; cf. Moser, § 60, pp. 94-95) (618.34).

ingen : ingen 324;6 bringen, dingen, klingen, gelingen, ringen, schlingen 'umschlingen,' schwingen, singen, springen, zwingen. Triple rhymes: 653.12; 932.10; 1039.13; 1522.29; 1897.6; 2128.29.

iengen : iengen 3 fiingen, giingen, hiingen (1821.23; 2965.13; BR70.10).

ingen : iengen 11 bringen, dingen, schwingen, singen, with i, rhyme with fiingen, giingen, hiingen, with ie.

ingen : üngen 1 bringen (i) : verjüngen 'jung machen' (ü)

(1237.13).

inken : inken 20 schinken, sinken, stinken, trinken, winken.
trinken rhymes once (2217.29) with schlinken 'schlucken',
schlingen ' (Upper German form of MG schlingen; to MHG slicken;
 cf. Bahder Wortwahl, p. 55; Schmeller BWb, II, 529).

ünken : ünken 1 zutrunken (pret. subj. 'zutrinken') : bedünken
 'Meinung' (2965.29).

ingt : ingt 9 bringt, bedingt, klingt, singt, springt, zwingt.
gedinget : bringet (3147.5).

iengt : iengt 1 anfigt : hingt (2. pl. pret.)(2406.9).

inkt : inkt 1 hinkt (pres. 'hinken') : stinkt (2496.7).

ingst : ingst 1 umbringst : ringst 'geringste' (1069.7).

ins : ins 1 widersinns : gewinns (2043.7).

insel : insel 1 prinzel (?) 'Schwefel'? : gewinsel (2970.15).

inst : inst 7 (=MHG nst, ndst, nnst, ns+t) finst 'findst',
minst (MHG minste 'kleinste'), schinst 'schindest', gewinnst
 (2035.10;2189.4;2357.27;2826.8); minst and gewinnst rhyme with
zinst 'Zins' (with addition of -t)(1702.15;2245.1;2755.7).

inst : ienst 12 minst, gewinnst : dienst, verdienst; zinst
 'Zins' (with addition of -t) (i) : verdienst (ie)(2483.19).

inster : inster 1 finster : glinster 'Glanz' (1151.13).

inster : ünster 2 finster : münster (543.2;3104.6).

ib : ib 7 gib (MHG gibe 'gebe'), blib, schrib, trib; the latter
 three are pret. sg. forms with the i from the pret. plural
 (601.24;833.4;1275.14;1685.6;1705.27;2142.27;BR20.17).

ieb : ieb 10 dieb, hieb (MHG hiew [>hieb] pret. houwen 'hauen'),
lieb; Dietlieb.

ueb : ueb 2 betrüb : üb 'übe aus' (578.30;593.33).

ib : ieb 89 gib 'gebe,' sib (MHG sip[-b] 'Sieb'), trib (MHG
trip[-b] 'das Treiben'); blib, rib (pret. 'reiben'), schrib,
trib, with -i- from the pret. plural forms), Lipp (Graf von
 der Lipp)(2849.8), Philip (2039.9). These words with i rhyme
 with the following with ie: dieb, hieb, lieb; Gottlieb.

ib : üb 2 gib : gelüb (MHG gelübe 'Versprechen, Gelöbniß')
 (1848.28;2184.32).

ieb : üb 1 dieb : gelüb (664.18).

ieb : ueb 6 lieb : betrüb (1157.4;1326.21;1359.16;1818.4;2266.10;
 2715.15).

üb : ueb 1 gelüb : trüb 'Trübnis' (660.24).

ib : ieb : ueb 1 gib 'gebe' : lieb : betrüb (3068.19).

ieber : ieber 2 fieber : lieber (2703.11;3248.7).

über : über 3 über : über (905.13;762.6). I emend drüben
(: über) to drüber 'darüber' (3403.3).

iber : ieber 2 Tiber 'Fluss Tiber' (with i?) : lieber (adv.)
(48.3;57.8)

iber : über 5 Tiber : über (257.2;405.12;413.4;413.13;427.30).

ieber : über 5 lieber : über (233.11;1865.28;2126.23;2368.21;
2426.27).

übel : übel 1 frübel (contraction of 'für Übel') : übel (1648.5).

ibel : übel 1 wehetribel (MHG wêtribel, to MHG tribel 'Klotze
zum Spielen'; cf. Lexer; DWb) : übel (50.19).

ibeln : übeln 1 wibeln (MHG wibelen 'wimmern') : grübeln (MHG
grüvelen) (1771.16).

iben : iben 90 blieben, geblieben, gerieben, geschrieben, sie-
ben 'Nummer sieben,' getrieben.

ieben : ieben 1 abgeieben (part. 'hauen,' with -leben instead
of auen by analogy to the pret. [new] forms in ieb; cf. DWb) :
lieben (1133.10).

üeben : üeben 1 cristenbüben (acc. sg.) : rüben (acc. pl.
'Rübe') (3242.25).

iben : ieben 18 geblieben, geschrieben, getrieben, with i,
rhyme with lieben, with ie.

iben : üeben 3 blieben, geschrieben, with i, rhyme with be-
trüben, üben 'ausüben' with üe (1190.18;2389.28;3232.8).

ieben : üeben 6 klieben 'spalten,' lieben, with ie, rhyme with
betrüben, üben with üe (165.23;1371.22;1781.34;2089.25;2289.34;
3136.29).

üebt : üebt 4 betrübt : geübt (823.19;1399.5;3266.14;3403.11).

ibt (ippt) : iebt 16 gibt, schrieht (pret. pl. 'ihr schrieht'),
gesippt (MHG gesippede 'Verwandschaft'; 2487.26); these with
i rhyme with liebt, geliebt, liebd 'Liebde,' with ie.

ibt : üebt 3 gibt : betrübt (1448.33;1861.12;BR62.15).

iebt : üebt 11 liebt, geliebt, liebd (ie) : betrübt, geübt (üe).

iebtēn : üebten 2 liebtēn : betrübten (1974.34.2042.13).

ibst : üebst 1 gibst : betrübst (2094.16).

it : it 479;8 (=MHG d, t, tt) acquavit (Art Wasser), bit
'bitte,' dritt 'dritte,' frid 'Friede,' lit 'litt,' mit (prep.),
nit 'nicht' (spelled nicht 14 times and in the triple rhyme:
frid : nicht : bit [3118.11]; nie for nit occurs once [3227.10]),
quit (with i, from French quittē, not from MHG quīt; cf. Paul,

II, § 57), rit 'Fieber,' jarrit 'jäh einsetzendes Fieber; Schüttelfrost,' rit (pret. 'reiten'), abschid 'Abschied,' verabschid (part. MHG abschiden), beschid (MHG beschide 'Bescheid'), schid 'Entscheidung,' unterschid (MHG unterschiede 'Unterschied'), schmid 'Schmied,' geschmit (part. (schmieden'), schrift 'Schritt; schritt,' sit 'Sitte,' strit 'Streit' (with late Bavarian i; cf. discussion below, Part II, §3), trit; and the following preterites with i from the pret. plural: rit (pret. 'reiten'), überschrit, strit (pret. MHG striften). abbitte : fride (3080.10). Triple rhymes: 319.5;1944.9; 3039.20;3121.30;3123.30;3227.10;3273.6.

üet : üet 22 blüt (pres. MHG blüezen 'blüten' [659.27]), geblüt (collective MHG bluot), güt 'Güte,' begüt (part. MHG begüeten 'begütigen, gut machen' [2516.19]), hüt (pl. MHG huot 'der Hut'), hüt (pres. MHG hüeten 'hüten'), gemüt, wüt (pres. MHG wüeten 'rasen').

it : iet 18 bit, dritt, frid, mit, nit, unterschid, with i, rhyme with riet (pret. MHG râten), schid (pret. MHG scheiden 'fort gehen'), sied (pres. MHG sieden 'kochen').

it : üt 2 nit : verschüt 'verschüttet' (595.19;2237.8).

it : üet 3 mit : geblüt, müd 'müde' (585.16;608.6;2464.32).

iet : üt 1 gebiet 'ihr gebietet' : rüd (MHG rüde 'männlicher Hund'; cf. Dwb; Götze) (2884.26).

iet : üet 1 lied 'Lied' : behüt 'behüte' (1277.33).

ider : ider 116 (=MHG d) bider (MHG biderbe), glider 'Glieder,' nider 'hernieder,' sider 'hernach, seither,' wider 'wieder, wider,' wider 'Widder.'

iter : iter 36 (=MHG tt) bitter, mitter (adv. MHG mitter 'in der Mitte'; 8 times), mitter (contraction of 'mit dir' [1401.16]), zitter (pres. 'zittern').

ider : iter 2 (=MHG d, tt) nider, wider : riter 'Ritter' (1146.23;1388.34).

ider : ieder 23 nider, wider : jeder (MHG ie-wöder).

ider : üeter 2 (=MHG üed, üet) glider, wider : brüder, gemüter (15.15;1121.33).

ieder : üeder 1 jeder : brüder (155.9).

üeter : üeter 5 (=MHG d, t) geblüter, brüder, güter, behüter, gemüter (128.8;147.30;276.25;2035.33;2333.5).

idern : idern 1 glidern : erwidern (2572.23).

üetern : üetern 2 (=MHG d, t) brüdern, gütern, gemütern

(726.5;1761.11).

itel : itel 3 (=MHG tt;[t]) mittel : tittel (MHG tittel)
(392.2;425.10); mittel : capittel (BR72.2).

itel : ütel 1 (=MHG it, üt) kitel (MHG kitel 'unteres Hemd') :
bütel (MHG bütel 'Gerichtsbote')(2186.18).

iten : iten 108 (=MHG d, t, tt) (d:d [22]; t:t [29]; d:t [52];
t:tt [1]) biten ('das Bitten'; pres. MHG biten 'bitten'),
gebiten (part. MHG biten), friden, geliten (part. MHG liden),
vermiden (part. MHG vermiden), niden (adv. 'darunter'), ge-
riten (part. MHG riten), geschiden (part. adj. MHG schiden
'trennen; bestimmen'; and part. to MHG scheiden 'scheiden,
absondern, fortgehen,' with change of MHG -ei- to MHG -i- by
confusion with pret. pl. and part. forms of MHG schiden (cf.
DWb), schliten (MHG slite 'Schlitten'), schmiden (dat. pl.
MHG smide 'Schmied'; inf. MHG smiden 'schmieden, hämmern'),
schmitten (MHG smitte 'Schmiede')(change of itt to id by
analogy to MHG smide; cf. Kluge [2497.27]), geschniten (part.
MHG sniden 'schneiden'), siten (pl. MHG site 'Sitte, Brauch'),
erstriten (part. MHG striten); Carmaliten (626.19).

iten : iten 1 friden (i) : striten (inf. MHG striten)(3086.18).

For a discussion of this rhyme, see below, Part II, § 3.

üeten : üeten 6 güten, hüten, wüten (1916;289.33;2389.10;
2462.18;2690.17;3104.24).

iten : ieten 13 (=MHG id, ied; it, iet) (id:ied [3]; id:iet
[3]; it:ied [4]; it:iet [3]) biten, friden, zufriden, er-
liten, niden (adv.), geriten, verschiden (part. MHG verschiden),
siten, with i, rhyme with the following with ie: gebieten,
jeden, rieden (pl. MHG riet[-d] 'Sumpfriedgras'), berieten
(pret. 'beraten'), sieden.

iten : üeten 2 biten : wüten (275.1;2652.27).

ieten : üeten 1 gebieten : ungüten (701.14).

ides : iedes 1 abschides : jedes (1265.32).

itest : itest 1 bitest 'bittest' : litest 'littest' (2035.15).

üetig : üetig 3 gütig : mütig (645.4;1804;3310.12).

its : its 7 hitz, schwitz, sitz, spitz, witz; Deuschnitz, Reg-
nitz; Fritz, Moritz.

its : iets 16 hitz, sitz, witz; Rochlitz, Türnitz, with i,
rhyme with jetz (ie).

its : üts 2 hitz : nütz (2499.9;3143.11).

iets : üts 1 jetz : nütz (2741.33).

ütser : ütser 1 nützer : beschützer (2668.25).

itsig : itsig 1 hitzig : fürwitzig (2494.6).

itsen : itsen 15 blitzen (MHG blikezen 'blitzen'), bobitzer 'sinnlos schwätzen' (cf. Götze, s.v. 'papatzen'), erhitzen, ritzen, schlitzen, schmitzen 'das Schlagen; das Beschmieren,' schwitzen, sitzen, spitzen, witzen; novitzen (1685.4).

ütsen : ütsen 4 nützen, beschützen, sprützen (dat. sg. MHG sprütze 'Spritze'), unterstützen (86.24;585.4;2883.35;3258.24).

itsen : ietsen 3 sitzen : jetzen (261.18;1268.18;2207.20).

itsen : ütsen 4 schmitzen, sitzen : nützen, beschützen, unterstützen (501.21;1183.32;1583.1;2900.22).

itst : itst 2 stiegeelfritzt 'spottet' (cf. DWb), erhitzt, geschwitzt, sitzt (1250.6;3358.9).

ietst : ietst 6 hitzt, gemitzt (part. MHG mitzen 'Mahlmetze nehmen,' from MHG metze 'Metze' [= 'Trockenmass'; cf. Götze]; cf. DWb, s.v., 'mützen'), sitzt; these words with i rhyme with jetst (445.5;1690.29;2177.26;2354.7;2368.15;2502.11).

üeg : üeg 1 abschlüg (pret. subj. 'abschlagen') : trüg (pret. subj.) (1937.5).

ieg : ieg 23 sig 'Sieg,' obsig 'obsiege,' with i, rhyme with krieg 'Krieg' (ie).

ig : üg 1 verlig (pres. MHG verligen 'zurück bleiben') : müg (3278.7).

ieg : üg 1 krieg 'bekomme' (to MHG kriegen 'anstrengen,' not to MHG krigen 'erhalten'; cf. Kluge; DWb) : müg 'möge' (826.5).

ieg : üeg 3 krieg 'Krieg' : füg 'füge,' unfüg (adv.), erschlüg (177.20;655.29;2012.18).

üg : üeg 2 müg : erschlüg, zutrug (2343.7;2824.9).

ik : ik 5 blick, dick, schick (pres. 'sich schicken'), verschlick (pres. MHG verslicken 'verschlucken'), erschrick (pres. MHG erschrecken), strick (2291.30;2950.3;3198.23;3309.32;3388.33).

ük : ük 87;1 underdrück, glück, rück 'Rücken,' zurück, stück, tück 'Arglist, Tücke.' Triple rhyme: zurück : stück : unglück (330.20).

ik : ük 26;2 augenblick, dick, genick, schick 'sende; schicke sich,' erschrick (pres. 'erschrecken'), strick; these words with i rhyme with the following with ü: flück (MHG vlücke 'fliegend' [34.24]), glück, rück 'Rücken,' zurück. Triple rhymes: schick : stück : glück (146.33); schickt (!) : glück :

zurück (3066.31). I emend schickt to schick, since it is pres. subj.: 'es schicke sich.'

üeg : ük 1 trüg 'trüge' : glück (212.24).

iger : ieger 2 schwiger (MHG swiger 'Schwiegermutter') : be-trüger (MHG betrieger) (280.13; 1425.23).

iker : iker 1 pfannenflicker : dicker (552.13).

igel : igel 1 rigel 'Riegel' : sigel 'Siegel' (3151.25).

iege : iege 1 spiegel 'Spiegel' : spiegel (2129.2).

igel : iege 1 sigel : knabenspiegel (3312.10).

iege : ügel 1 spiegel (ie) : prügel (Late MHG brügel 'Knüttel'; cf. Kluge) (3120.34).

igen : igen 14 ligen, verschwigen, sigen 'siegen,' gestigen (part. 'steigen'), wigen 'wiegen,' zigen (part. MHG zihen, refl. 'sich einbilden').

iegen : iegen 20 fliegen, kriegen 'kämpfen; bekommen,' lügen (MHG liegen 'lügen'), schmiegen, betrügen (MHG betriegen).

ügen : ügen 2 mügen 'mögen' : tügen (MHG tügen 'taugen') (665.18; 1658.30).

üegen : üegen 7 fügen, genügen, pflügen, trügen (pret. subj. 'tragen') (164.12; 475.30; 1083.10; 1797.14; 2422.30; 3242.21; 3358.29).

igen : iegen 47 ligen, verschwigen, sigen, gestigen, verzigen (part. MHG verzihen 'versagen'), with i, rhyme with the following with ie: kriegen, lügen, schmiegen, stiegen (pl. 'Stiege'), betrügen.

igen : ügen 6 ligen (i) : mügen, zügen (pl. MHG zuc[-g]) (120.25; 423.9; 1179.19; 1930.19; 2282.6; 2553.29).

igen : üegen 11 ligen, verschwigen, sigen, with i, rhyme with fügen.

iegen : ügen 18 fliegen, kriegen, betrügen, with ie, rhyme with mügen, vermögen, with ü.

iegen : üegen 15 kriegen, betrügen, with ie, rhyme with fügen and genügen, with üe. kriechen 'kriechen' (iech) : begnügen (üeg) (1211.3).

ügen : üegen 17 mügen, vermögen, with ü, rhyme with fügen, begnügen, with üe.

iken : iken 32 erblicken, flicken, practicken (2061.8), erquicken, schicken, verschlicken, sticken 'fein nähen,' ersticken, stricken.

üken : üken 3 bücken, drücken, glücken, schmücken, stücken

(581.35;1910.32;3268.15).

iken : üken 19;1 augenblicken, flicken, knicken 'brechen,'
schicken, spicken 'mit Speck bestecken'; these with i rhyme
 with the following with ü: drücken, glücken, stücken, trücken
 'trocknen' (3054.36; cf. Götze). Triple rhyme: erquicken :
schicken : stücken (1681.12).

iget : iget 1 erliget 'erliegt' : gesiget 'gesiegt' (1264.32).

ieget : üget 1 krieket : müget 'möget' (2416.13).

legt : üegt 3 kriegt : gefügt (786.6;1782.2;2037.22).

ikt : ikt 26 erblickt, edict, flickt, maledict, erquickt, ge-
schickt, verschlickt 'verschluckt,' gespickt, gestickt, ver-
strickt, zwickt.

ikt : ükt 11 flickt, erquickt, geschickt, schickt, verschlickt,
 with i, rhyme with gedrückt, geglückt, with ü.

igt : ükt 1 wigt (pres. MHG wigen 'wiegen') : erdrückt (527.8).

ikt : üegt 2 geschickt (part.) : fügt (992.3;1367.16).

iechst : iechst 1 verziehst (written verziegst; pres. MHG ver-
ziehen 'verzögern') : kriechst (written kriegst; pres. MHG
kriechen) (1624.4).

igs : legs 1 sigs (gen. 'Sieg') : kriegs (1373.35).

iks : iks 6 crucifix, Felix : nix 'nichts' (480.13;2352.26;
 3333.4;3380.15;3405.13;3407.33).

iks : üks 1 Felix : glücks (3399.15).

iksen : üksen 4 (=MHG chs, htes) nichsen 'Nixe,' nixen (for
nichtsen 'nichts' [cf. Gebhardt, § 103.2; § 104.1]); these
 rhyme with büchsen (pl. MHG bühse 'Buchse').

ich : ich 371;4 (=MHG ch, h, ht) (ch:ch [332]; ch:h [39])
dich, ich, mich, sich, stich 'steche,' strich ('Linie'; pret.
 MHG intr. vb. strichen 'eilend gehen,' with i from pret. pl.),
 all with ch; and the triple rhymes: 2195.3;3109.13;3110.28.
dich, ich, mich, sich, with ch, rhyme with the following with
 MHG h: gich (MHG giht 'Krampf'; with loss of -t; cf. DWb),
sich 'sehe,' vich 'Vieh.' Triple rhyme: 3118.32.

fich : fich 2 adelich 'adlig' : undetelich 'untadelhaft,' both
 with MHG -fich (1286.5); Wolfdieterich : frölich (1084.14).

ich : ich 124;1 dich, ich, mich, sich (pronoun), sprich
 'spreche,' stich 'steche,' with -ich, rhyme with the following
 with -fich (-liche, -riche): äusserlich, beständiglich,
elendiglich, erlich 'ehrllich,' ewiglich, freundlich, gehorsam-
lich, mässiglich, ritterlich, tugentlich, etc.; Dietrich,

Emerich, Salberich, Ulrich, wüterich. Triple rhyme:
ordentlich : züchtiglich : sich (pronoun) (2108.15).

ich : ic 4 mich, sich (pronoun), with -ich, rhyme with the following with LMGH -ic: traurig, warhaftig, willig, würdig (91202.5;1939.23;3319.31;3401.17).

ich : ic 2 verdrieslich, Wolfdieterich : könig, müssig (1090.4; 3157.12).

iech : iech 1 (=MGH h) empflieh 'entfliehe' : überziech 'überziehe' (348.6).

ich : iech 2 (=MGH ich, ieh) dich : ziech 'ziehe' (3317.15; 3327.32).

ich : iech 1 unsinniglich : schiech (MGH schiehe 'scheu') (1288.19).

ich : ig 5 dich, ich, mich : lig 'liege,' sig 'Sieg; siege' (165.12;1542.9;1601.12;2009.29;2011.3).

ich : ieg 11 dich, ich, mich, sich (pronoun) : krieg 'Krieg; bekomme.'

ich : üg 1 mich : züg 'Züge' (719.10).

ich : üeg 9 dich, mich : schlüg (pret. subj.), trüg (pret. subj.).

üecher : üeger 2 bücher : klüger (16.15;3292.21).

ichen : ichen 4 erblichen (part. 'erbleichen'), verglichen, geschlichen, gestrichen, gewichen (1711.11;2613.31;2770.15; 3280.4).

ichen : ichen 1 gewichen : ewiglichen (623.24).

icht : icht 436.8 (=MGH cht, ht) (ht:ht [416]; cht:cht [2]; cht:ht [18]) bricht : spricht (115.7;740.9). The following with -ht rhyme together: dicht 'dichtet,' gedicht, ficht (pres. MGH vēhten 'fechten'; 2976.8), gicht 'Krampf,' nicht (twice written nit; 2343.32;3164.12), pflicht, richt 'Gänge beim Essen; richte; Gericht; gerichtet,' aufrecht 'aufrichtig,' bericht, unterricht, geschicht 'Geschichte; geschieht,' geschlicht (part. MGH slihten 'veranstalten'), übersicht 'übersieht,' versicht 'versieht,' entwicht 'schlecht, verdorben' (to MGH en-wiht), bösewicht, gewicht, verzicht (pret. MGH verzihen 'versagen,' with -i- by analogy to the pret. plural forms). Triple rhymes: 47.22;738.15;1466.1;2025.20;3068.8; 3116.24;3116.36. I emend sucht (: nicht; 3250.33) to sicht 'sieht.' urgicht 'Aussage' (to MGH jēhen 'sagen'), nicht, pflicht, ausgericht 'ausgerichtet,' geschicht (geschieht; Ge-

schichte, 'gesicht 'Gesicht'; these with -ht rhyme with the following with -cht: bricht, spricht. Triple rhyme: nicht : spricht : spricht (553.31).

icht : lecht 22 (=MHG ih̄t, ih̄t; ih̄t) bericht, gericht, nicht, geschicht 'geschieht', sicht 'sieht', angesicht; these words with -ih̄t rhyme 21 times with licht and umzieht (pres. MHG umbeziehen); while spricht (-cht) : licht 'Licht' (453.32).

icht : echt 1 nicht : töricht (MHG tôerēht) (2329.26).

ichter : ichter 1 richter : entwichter (adj. 'nutzloser Mann'; to MHG en-wiht) (499.31).

ichten : ichten 54 dichten, geschichten (pl. 'Geschichte'), nichten (adv.), vernichten, pflichten, verpflichten, richten, schlichten (pret. 'ausgleichen'), besichten 'besichtigen', bösewichten, entwichten (adj. 'schlecht'). ? anrichten (inf.) : geschichte (dat. sg.; 3329.23); if emended to "geschichten," we have a weak form for a strong noun.

ichts : ichts 4 angesichts, gerichts, nichts (327.26; 622.21; 716.14; 1874.32).

ichst : ichst 3 brichst, sichst 'siehst', sprichst, erstichst (1253.28; 1677.20; 2936.26).

is : is 44 (=MHG s, ss, z) dis 'dies, dieses', riss (pret. 'reißen'), ris (MHG rise 'Riese'), beschiss (pret. MHG beschizzen, with i from the pret. plural), schmiss (pret. MHG smizzen 'schmeissen', with i from the pret. pl.), spiss (MHG spiz 'Bratspiess'; 2966.4), wis (pret. MHG wisen 'weisen'), wiss 'wisse', gewiss (adv.); compromiss; Anienis, Appollonis, Apprillis, Aristolelis, Carthonis, Decembris, Delphis, Gies, uncurabilis, Platonis, Radis, Socratis, Terfis.

ies : ies 25;1 (=MHG s, z) verdriess 'verdriesse, Verdruss' (MHG verdriez), hiess, erkies (pres. MHG erkiesen 'erwählen'; 142.35), liess, spiess (MHG spiez 'Spiess, Waffe'; 2257.23), stiess. Triple rhyme: hiess : stiess : liess (2610.3).

ües : ües 13 (=MHG s, z) büss 'Büse', drüs (MHG drüese 'Drüse, Beul'), füss 'Füsse', müss (subj. 'müssen'), süss (adj.).

is : ies 54 (=MHG is, iz; iez) dis 'dies', ris 'Riese', wiss 'wisse', gewiss; Delphis, Decembris, Jovis, litteris, Octobris, recepis, Terfis; these with i rhyme with the following with ie: verdriess 'Verdruss', hiess, liess, schliess (pres. 'schliessen'), spiess 'Waffe' (2799.34), erspriess (pres. 'er-

spriessen'), stiess.

is : üs 5 (=MHG is, iz; üss, üz) dis, gewiss, with i rhyme with küss (MHG küssin 'Kissen'), nüss (pl. 'Nuss'); Gies (a person) (283.9;2534.15;2963.25;3352.6;1765.13).

is : ües 3 (=MHG is, iss; iez) gewiss, erwis (pret. MHG er-wisen 'erweisen'; with i from the pret. pl. forms) : müss, süss (709.13;2089.7;2833.29).

ies : üs 1 liess : küss (MHG küssin 'Kissen') (2708.22).

ies : ües 8 verдриess 'Verdruss,' liess, spiess 'Waffe,' stiess, with ie, rhyme with drüs, füss, müss, süss.

is : is 5 gewiss : Paris.

ies : is 3 liess : Paris.

is : ies : is 1 gewiss : hliess : paradis (3064.10).

üsel : üesel 1 schlüssel (üz) : rüssel (MHG rüezel 'Rüssel') (3016.9).

isen : isen 84 (=MHG s, z) (s:s [4]; z:z [79]) disem (! [1355.1]), risen (MHG rise 'Riese'), wisen (MHG wiese 'Wiese'), bewisen (pret., part. MHG bewisen) (1113.32;1119.19;1716.11;1355.1). gebissen, compromissen, beflissen (pret., part. MHG bewlizen 'fleissig sein'), geflissen (part. MHG vlizen 'streben, befleissen'), frissen (pres. pl. 'fressen'; i from pres. sg.? [369.20]), gerissen, beschissen, geschmissen, wissen, gewissen.

iesen : iesen 51;1 (=MHG s, z) (z:z [50]; z:s [1]) verдриessen, fliessen, giessen, hiessen, erkiesen (: schliessen [1187.25]), liessen, geniessen, schiessen, schliessen, spriessen. Triple rhyme: geniessen : verhiessen : beschliessen (148.21).

üesen : üesen 28 (=MHG z) büssen, füssen, grüssen, müssen.

isen : iesen 18 (=MHG is; iz, iez) (is:iez [14]; iz:iez [4]: 453.30;843.1;920.13;929.26) risen (pl. 'Riese'), wissen, bewisen, wisen 'Wiesen,' gewisen 'gewiesen,' gewissen 'ge-wissen,' with i, rhyme with fliessen, liessen, geniessen, schliessen, schliessen, with ie.

isen : üsen 6 wissen : küssen (MHG küssin 'Kissen' and MHG küssen 'küssen') (2024.3;2024.10;2505.35;2574.6;3084.21;3116.4).

isen : üesen 7 (=MHG is, iz; üez) (is:üez [6]; iz:üez [1]:16.9) risen, gewisen, wissen, with i, rhyme with büssen, füssen, müssen, with üe (16.9;1034.5;1088.5;1091.26;1740.23;1877.31;2916.9).

iesen : üesen 71;1 (=MHG iez:üez) verдриessen, fliessen,

giessen, hiessen, liessen, geniessen, schiessen, schliessen,
with ie, rhyme with büssen, füssen, grüssen, müssen, with üe.
Triple rhyme: geniessen : büssen : müssen (755.16).

üsen : üesen 1 küssen 'Kissen' : müssen (2573.6).

ist : ist 414;2 (=MHG st, sst, zzt) alchemist, bist, Christ,
dist 'dieses' (525.14), frist 'Frist,' frisst 'frisst,' ver-
gisst, ist, jurist, list ('List'; 2d and 3d sg. pres. 'lesen'),
mist 'Mist,' organist, pisst, siebenzigist (BR23.1), vergewisst
(adv.), vierzigist (BR64.10), wisst 'ihr wisst,' bewisst 'be-
wusst,' gewisst 'gewusst.' Triple rhymes: 3043.14;3114.22.

iest : iest 2 hiesst : liesst (1087.31;1434.21).

üest : üest 3 büsst, gegrüsst, müsst (2314.17;2985.20;3201.13).

ist : üst 19;2 bist, frist 'Frist,' ist, with i, rhyme with
rüst 'rüste,' with ü. Triple rhymes: 3116.7;3116.30.

ist : üest 1 ist : müsst (2445.31).

iest : üest 1 schiessst : müsst (908.27).

üst : üest 1 brüst 'Brüste' : müsst (772.3).

ist : üest : üest 1 vergewisst (part. MHG vergewissen) : müsst :
gebüsst (3047.7).

isten : isten 16 Christen, fristen 'aufschieben,' juristen,
listen (pl. 'List'), einnisten (to MHG nisten 'nisten'; 1781.17).

isten : üsten 6 Christen, instrumentisten : rüsten 'bereiten'
(743.11;1495.6;1663.10;1779.16;1976.34;3236.12).

isch : isch 12 fisch, frisch, tisch, trisch 'Aalraupe,' erwisch;
frisch : teufelsarschwirsch (2971.28).

üschel : üschel 1 holterdrüschel (written holterdrüssel; to MHG
drüzzel 'Gurgel, Schlund'; cf. Dwb, s.v. 'drossel'): rosen-
püschel 'Rosenbüschel' (2971.28).

ischen : ischen 6 fischen, erfrischen, mischen, tischen, er-
wischen (1934.28;1952.34;2353.31;2420.17;3171.20;3272.19).

ischt : ischt 6 gefischt, erfrischt, gemischt, erwischt (1621.1;
2316.2;2417.3;2481.14;2836.13;3102.5).

ief : ief 16 brief, lief, rief, schlief, tief.

if : ief 39 (=MHG if, iff) (if:ief [12]; iff:ief [27]) grif
(pret. subj. and pret. ind. MHG grifen 'greifen, with i from
pret. pl. forms; cf. Dwb), Hiltpertsgriff (written -grieff
[2977.25]; shortened form of Hildebrandsgriff 'schlaue, ränke-
volle Handlung, Kampflist; cf. Dwb; Götze), begriff, schiff,
triff (MHG triffe 'treffe'); these words with i rhyme with
the following with ie: brief, lief, schlief, tief.

if : if 1 wiff (Low German wif 'Weib') : liff (Low German lif 'Leib')(547.34).

ief : of See under -o.

iefeln : üfeln 1 nachschliefeln (written nachschlöffeln) 'nachschleifen' (?) : büffeln (dat. pl. MHG büffel 'Rindvieh')(2947.24).

ifen : ifen 2 angriffen 'angegriffen,' ergriffen, pfiffen (1700.20;3341.19).

iefen : iefen 1 liefen : triefen 'tropfen' (2712.10).

üefen : üefen 1 prüfen (MHG prüeven 'erweisen') : anrufen (wk. vb.)(1021.11).

ifen : iefen 1 griffen 'gegriffen' : liefen (1275.20).

ifen : üefen 1 angriffen (written angrieffen; inf. 'angreifen'; this is either MG f, or represents a late survival of MHG f; cf. the discussion in Dwb, s.v. 'greifen'): anrufen (inf. MHG wk. vb. enrűefen 'anrufen')(101.4).

ift : ift 36;1 gift 'Gift,' vergift 'vergiftet,' schrift, stift 'Stift,' gestift 'gestiftet,' trifft. Triple rhyme: 1465.9.

üeft : üeft 1 prüft : anrűft (pres. MHG wk. vb. anrűefen) (1051.14).

ift : üeft 1 gift : geschűft (part. MHG wk. vb. schaffen 'schaffen,' with űe by analogy to the pret. forms of MHG st. vb. schaffen)(2174.22).

ift : ieft 1 vergrift (written vergrieft)(3. pres. ind. 'vergreifen'; here MHG f remained i) : vertieft (3006.15).

§ 4 o-sounds (=MHG ô, o; â, a; also u)

ô : ô 37 fro 'froh,' so, also, stro 'stroh'; these words rhyme 8 times with each other and 25 times with the following words, most of which are foreign: Acquilo, Berengario, Capitalio, Cartago, Cicero, Constantio, Cresentio, Ferrago, feurio (?), Francisco, Gerando, Gregorio, Grundo, Hohenlo, Innocentio, Isidoro, Lucio, mordio, philosopho, Poleo, secretario, Thuno, Tiberio, Tenneloh (2627.9). The following foreign names rhyme with each other 4 times: Apiano, Berengario, Faulpengilo, Lappudötschio, Ludovico, mordio, rettigo, Vadiano. rho (Low German 'Ruhe' ?) : tho 'tue' ?)(550.3).

ô : â 24;8 fro, also, with ô, and the following foreign words, presumably with ô: Julio, Miro, mordio, Sergio, rhyme with da (MHG dâ 'da, dort; wo'), wo (MHG wâ). Triple rhymes:

da (â) : fro (ô) : ho (exclamation; ô), 7 times; da : fro : also (3072.25).

ô-en : ô-n 1 durchflohen (inf. 'Flöhen säubern'; to MHG vlô 'Floh') : drohen (MHG drôn; new formation to MHG drô 'Drohung' [cf. Kluge], or loss of w and contraction of ou > ô in MHG drouwen just as strô < strouwe [cf. DWb])(250.1).

ôr : ôr 4 or 'Ohr' : tor 'der Tor' (550.11; 2286.28; 2834.1; 3126.21).

or : or 64 empor, spor 'Spor,' gespor 'Spur,' tor 'das Tor,' vor (darvor, zuvor); Angelor, doctor, litigator, orator, præceptor, prior, professor. I emend darvon (: tor [597.27]) to darvor.

ôr : or 26 chor (MHG kôr), verlor, or, vogelror 'Vogelrohre,' rumor 'Lärm,' tor 'der Tor,' with ô, rhyme with the following with o: tor 'das Tor,' vor; præceptor.

ôr : âr 1 chor (MHG kôr) : jar 'Jahr' (â) (BR62.21).

or : ar 1 vor : Baldemar (1137.6).

or : arr 1 stadltor 'Stalltor' (o) : narr (a) (3166.28).

or : ûr 2 See under û.

orm : urm See under u.

ôrn : ôrn 13 morn (pl. 'Mohr'), orn 'Ohren,' torn (pl. 'der Tor'). ohrn : horn (written hörn; MHG hören, not hôeren 'hören') (1936.1).

orn : orn 443;2 geborn, dictatorn, dorn, erfrorn, horn, korn, erkorn (part. MHG erkiesen 'wählen'), verlor, orn 'Orden' (loss of -d-; 659.3; 1120.1; 1269.2; 2682.17; 2752.1; 3032.35), præceptor, procurator, geschorn, geschworn, torn (pl. 'das Tor'), vorn 'vorne,' zuvorn, worn (part. 'werden' with loss of -d-), zorn 'Zorn; zornen.' Triple rhymes: 3042.25; 3075.21.

ôrn : orn 42;1 orn 'Ohren,' rumorn 'Lärm machen,' torn (pl. 'der Tor'), with ô, rhyme with the following words with o: geborn, horn, korn, verlor, geschorn, geschworn, torn (dat. pl. 'das Tor'), davorn, worn 'geworden,' zorn. Triple rhyme: angeborn (o) : orn 'Ohren' (ô) : orn (ô) (1465.29).

orn : orn 4 verlor, geschworn, worn 'geworden,' with or, rhyme with verdorn 'verdorren,' unverworn 'unverworren' with orr (2008.19; 2924.6; 3289.21; 3319.29).

orben : orben 51 verdorn, gestorn, erworben.

ort : ort 116;1 (=MHG d; t) dort, fort, hort 'Schatz,' mord, ermordt 'ermordet,' ort, pfort 'Pforte,' port 'Hafen,' wort,

verantwort 'verantwortet.' Triple rhyme: wort : ort : fort (1629.6).

orrt : orrt 2 verschmorrt : eingedorrt, verdorrt (620.32; 2404.26).

ort : ôrt 6 wort (o) : hort (pret. MHG hören 'hören'), gehort (part. 'hören') (1324.33; 1936.13; 2117.20; 2555.7; 2740.17; 3291.17).

orrt : urrt 1 verdorrt (o) : eingeschnorrt (MHG snurren 'schliessen') (140.9).

ort : art 1 fort (o) : gespart (part. MHG spërren 'hemmen'; cf. Lexer; DWB) (3196.1).

orden : orden 12 orden 'Orden' : worden 'geworden.'

orten : orten 18 dorten 'dort,' orten, pforten, porten 'Hafen,' worten (dat. pl. 'Wort'), verantworten.

orden : orten 1 orden : pforten (BR59.25).

orten : orten : orden 1 worten : dorten : orden (1203.9).

orgen : orgen 47;1 borgen, verborgen, morgen, sorgen, erworgen (inf. MHG intr. wk. vb. erworgen 'erwürgt werden') (548.31; 894.18). Triple rhyme: sorgen : borgen : morgen (2961.30).

orgt : orgt 1 geborgt (o) : erworgt (part. MHG intr. wk. vb. erworgen 'erwürgt werden') (3221.18).

orcht : orcht 6 (=MHG ht, cht) forcht (MHG vorhte 'Furcht') : horcht (imperative MHG hochen), gehorch (333.21; 343.37; 596.23; 2085.4; 2100.10; 3271.30).

ol : ol 445;8 (=MHG l, ll) (l:l [19]; ll:ll [19]; l:ll [407]) hol ('hohl'; pres. 'holen'), kol 'Kohle,' knoll 'grober Mensch,' soll, toll, troll (pres. 'trollen' = 'mit kurzen Schritten vorwärts laufen'), voll, wol 'wohl; gut; wahrscheinlich,' woll (pres. subj. 'wollen'); Caroll, protocoll. Triple rhymes: 1746.12; 2007.14; 2610.15; 2641.35; 3075.30; 3110.22; 3114.5.

ol : ôl 1 wol (o) : Spaniol 'Spanier' (ô) (1928.12).

oll : al 1 soll (o) : befal 'befahl' (1551.8).

olen : olen 106 (=MHG l, ll) (l:l [52]; ll:ll [13]; l:ll [42]) befolen, holen, verholen, sollen, gestolen, getrollen, vollen, wollen, verzollen 'abmessen.'

olen : ôlen 3 (=MHG ol, oll) Polen 'Polen' (ô) : holen, unverholen (with ol) (2213.16; 3281.30) and with sollen (654.34).

olen : uolen See under uo.

olt : olt 315 (=MHG ld, lt, llt) (ld:ld [8]; lt:lt [217]; ld:lt [71]) gold, hold, holt (pres. 'holen'), geholt, sold, sollt, wollt; Ehrenhold, Grimhold, Leupold, Reinold, Seubold. (sollt

rhymes with wollt 202 times; sollt and wollt rhyme with geholt [=l+t] eleven times). knollet (MHG knollëht 'knollig, klüm-prig') : holet 'holt' (3086.12).

olt : ult 1 See under u.

olt : alt 1 sollt 'sollte' : Gerwalt (2109.6).

olten : olten 31 (=MHG ld, lt) golten 'gegolten,' gescholten, besolden, sollten 'sollten,' wollten; Leupolden, Seubolden.

olken : olken 1 gemolken (part. 'melken') : wolken (pl. 'Wolke') (2544.2).

olts : olts 1 (=MHG lz) bolz 'Bolzen' : holz (892.18;1643.5).

olst : olst 28 solst : wolst.

olfs : olfs 1 Ludolfs : wolfs (2219.18).

ôm : um 1 Rom (ô) : kom 'komme' (u)(1606.4).

ôm : âm 1 Rom (ô) : ablasskram (â)(504.1).

ôm : am 35 Rom (ô) : kam, nam 'Name; nahm,' -sam (beidesam, allesam, etc.), scham, stamm, lobesam (written lobesan [1592.25])).

ôm : an 1 Rom (ô) : man 'Mann' (196.20).

om : am 4 bräutigam, with MHG o, rhymes with gram 'Gram,' kam, nam, with a (160.25;987.14;1169.19;2452.24).

am : am 84;2 (=MHG m, mm) flamm, gram, kam, lam 'lahm,' lobe-sam (written lobesan [BR39.25]; elsewhere lobesan rhymes with words in -n), nam, -sam (beysam, jugendsam, etc.), schlamm, stamm, zam 'zahn'; Abraham, Bertram, Ceminoniam, Grisillam, Perhiboam, Pheam, Pilgram, Rotterdam, Torellam (written with u [:nam 'nahm':1779.26]), Wolfram (written -an [1685.2])).

âm : am 5 kram 'Waare,' sam 'Same,' with â, rhyme with nam, -sam, and stamm, with a (26.22;2423.14;2428.18;2428.31;2911.18).

am : ân 1 stamm (a) : tan 'tun' (MHG tuon > tân in Bavarian towards the end of the MHG period; cf. Michels, §282, note 1).

omen : umen 487;2 See under u.

ôn : ôn 60 hon 'Hohn,' kron 'Krone, Stück Geld,' lon 'Lohn; lohne,' person, schon, tron; absolution, alimentation, colla-tion, commision, complexion, confirmation, continuation, disputation, execution, munition, nation, oration, procession, relation, religion; Aragon, Babilon, Gendelon, Leon, Simon.

on : on 1 bewon 'bewohne' : davon (1661.31).

ôn : on 35;1 kron, lon, person, schon; complexion; Abelon; these with ô rhyme with von, with o. Triple rhyme: schon (ô) : lon (ô) : davon (o)(3259.15).

ôn : un 20 kron, lon, person, schon, tron; lection, rantion, supplication; Arragon, Gendelon; these words with ô rhyme with son (MHG sun 'Sohn'); Golison.

ôn : ân 336;4 fron 'Herrschaft,' kron, lon, matron, patron, person, schon, ton 'Ton,' tron 'Thron'; numerous words in -tion and -ion: appellation, collation, complexion, confirmation, dispensation, legation, nation, oration, petition, portion, procession, rantion 'Befreiungsgeld,' religion, scorpion, supplication, tractation; Abelon, Babilon, Galleron, Gedeon, Gendelon, Leon, Veron. These words with ô rhyme with the following with â: gan 'gehen,' han 'habe, haben,' lan 'lassen,' man 'Mond' (1635.11), plan 'Ebene,' stan 'stehen,' getan, untertan 'Untertan,' argwan 'Argwohn.' Triple rhymes: 794.12;1466.21;2318.3;3299.3.

ân : ân 474;4 gan, han, lan, man 'Mond' (written with o and a [1582.19;BR41.12]), plan, stan, tan 'tun' (MHG tuon > tân), getan, untertan, wan 'Glaube,' argwan; Kapellan. Triple rhymes: 792.17;1141.7;2185.30;3389.11.

an : an 665 an (prep.), ban 'Bahn, Weg,' bran (pret. MHG brinnen 'brennen'), han 'Hahn,' kan 'kann,' man 'Mann,' gespan 'Spange; Genosse,' gewan (pret. 'gewinnen'), zan 'Zahn'; Belligan, Favian, Herman, Jan, Petrian, Soldan.

ann : ann 1 dann : tyrann (480.23).

an : ann 2 an, kan : tyrann (1019.35;1525.33).

ân : an 1700;37 gan, han, lan, weinman 'Monat des Weins' (BR73.5), plan, stan, tan 'tun,' getan, untertan, wan, argwan; Kappelan, Koran; these with â rhyme with the following with a: an, ban 'Bahn,' kan, man, lobesan, gespan, gewan, zan; Adroman, Jan, Petrian, Soldan, Steffan, Willpan, Mailan 'Mailand.'

ôn : an 375 fron, kron, lon, matron, patron, person, schon, tron; benediction, collation, commendation, complexion, condition, conspiration, contraction, discretion, execution, legation, legion, proportion, rantion, relation, religion, supplication, vocation; Abelon, Aragon, Babilon, Gedeon, Gendelon, Simon, Solomon, Veron; these words with ô rhyme with the following with a: an, ban 'Bahn,' kan, man, zan; Jan, Soldan.

on : ân 211;2 davon, with o, rhymes with the following words with â: gan, han, lan, stan, tan, untertan, argwan. Triple rhymes: getan : getan : davon (553.21); tan 'tun' : han : von (3048.3).

- on : an 80;1 davon and won 'wohne' (1142.19), with o, rhyme with the following with a: an, kan, man; Adrian, Bellisan, Petrian, Soldan. Triple rhyme: man : an : davon (1537.6).
- on : un 19 davon; Meron (a place [BR35.20;BR45.28]), with o, rhyme with son 'Sohn,' with u.
- un : ân 93 son 'Sohn' and sonn 'Sonne' (3053.36), with MHG u, rhyme with gan, han, lan, stan, getan, with MHG â.
- un : an 68 son; Golison, with u, rhyme with an, kan, man, gewan; Petrian, Soldan, with a.
- ân : ôn : an 7 (1360.18;1740.7;3047.2;3075.12;3112.31;3119.18;3123.10).
- ân : an : on 3 (406.36;1500.25;3073.23).
- ân : an : un 2 (1864.14;3048.14).
- ân : ôn : un 1 (3335.4).
- an : ôn : on 1 (3120.36). ?clan (=English "clown"; with â?) rhymes with an (a)(1524.16), with han (â)(1947.14), with per-son (ô)(1937.27).
- ôner : oner 1 beloner 'Belohner' (ô) : einwoner 'Einwohner' (o) (317.4).
- oner : aner 1 bewoner (o) : groner (MHG granner 'Brummer') (2683.3).
- oner : under 8 See under u.
- ônen : ônen 54;1 fronen 'verherlichen,' kronen 'Gelder,' lonen 'belohnen,' personen, schonen. Triple rhyme: lonen : cronen : verschonen (844.14).
- onen : onen 1 gewonen 'verweilen' : wonen 'wohnen' (1065.27).
- ônen : onen 20 fronen, kronen, lonen, personen, schonen, with ô, rhyme with wonen 'wohnen,' with o.
- ônen : unen 2 (=MHG unn) kronen and patronen, with ô, rhyme with gewonnen, with u (3277.27;BR29.6).
- ônen : ânen 6 personen, schonen, with ô, rhyme with untertanen (frequently written with o), with â (80.34;82.2;387.14;576.20;880.3;1950.5).
- ônen : anen 2 verschonen (ô) : ermanen 'ermahnen' (a)(687.16); belonen (ô) : gronen 'Brummen, Murren' (to MHG grannen 'weinen'; cf. Götze; DWb)(3173.26).
- onen : ânen 7 wonen 'wohnen' (o) : untertanen (â).
- onen : anen 7 wonen (o) : manen 'mahnen' (an) and gronen 'brummen, weinen' (ann)(655.9;1305.27;2747.2;2804.22;2960.88;3066.15;3354.16).

- ônt : ônt 1 gelont 'gelohnt' : verschont (412.16).
- ônt : ont 8 belont, verschont (ô) : gewont (part. 'wohnen, gewöhnen'). gelonet, geschonet (ô) : gewonet (o) (74.16; 3086.24; 3393.25).
- ônt : ant 1 schont (ô) : mant 'ermahnt' (a) (567.27).
- ont : ânt 3 wont 'wohnt,' gewont, with o, rhyme with mond 'Mond,' hant (3d pl. pres. 'haben'), with â (1377.22; 1628.34; 2344.29).
- ont : ant 1 gewont (o) : Griechenland (a) (965.21).
- unt : ant 1 kont (MHG kunde 'konnte') : brant (pret. 'brennen') (a) (472.8).
- ônst : onst 1 verschont (ô) : wonst 'wohnst' (o) (1837.17).
- ônst : anst 2 verschont (ô) : kanst (a) (1939.4; 2788.22).
- onst : anst 1 gewonst 'gewöhnst' (o) : kanst (a) (825.11).
- ônung : onung 3 belonung, verschonung (ô) : wonung (o) (619.5; 2971.18; BR75.7).
- ob : ob 19;1 grob, lob, ob (darob; adv.); Jacob. Triple rhyme: grob : lob : drob (3119.31).
- ob : ôb 2 grob, ob (o) : prob 'Probe' (ô) (410.25; 3021.32).
- obel : obel 1 kobel 'Kasten' : schiffnobel 'englische Goldmünze mit aufgeprägtem Schiff' (cf. Götze; with o?) (3172.31).
- opel : opel ? 7 doppel (MHG pp) : Constantinopel (with op?).
- oben : oben 12 loben, angeloben 'versprechen' (266.35; 2577.35), oben, toben.
- oben : aben 3 loben (o) : gehoben (part. MHG hēben 'heben') (39.14; 574.36; 995.30).
- open : open 1 koppen (pl. MHG koppe 'Rabe') : schoppen (MHG schoppen 'stopfen') (3185.29).
- opt : opt 2 (=MHG bt, ppt) verlobt : tobt (2219.30); gelobt : verstoppt (part. MHG verstoppen 'verstopfen'; cf. Lexer) (2288.26).
- ôt : ôt 137 (=MHG d; t) brot, gebot (pret. 'gebieten'), not rot, tod, tot; Signot.
- ot : ot 52 (=MHG t; tt) (t:t [19]; tt:tt [2(569.33; 3099.34)]); t:tt [31]) bot 'Bote,' gebot 'Gebot,' Got(t), rott 'rotte aus,' rott 'Schar,' scaffot, spott 'Spott'; Gyot, Ott.
- ôt : ot 234;5 (=MHG ôd, ôt; ot, ott) (ôt[=ôd, ôt]:ot [216]; ôt:ott [18]) asterot (ô?) 'Teufel' (1250.34), brot, kleinot, kot (MHG kôt, kât, quât [2374.25]), not, rot, tod, tot, verbot (pret. 'verbieten'), with ô, rhyme with the following with

-o: bot 'Bote,' gebot 'Gebot,' Gott, rott 'Schar,' spott;
Gyot. Triple rhymes: tot (ô) : not (ô) : Gott (ot)(3043.31;
 3070.35;3309.7); tod (ôd) : spott (ott) : Gott (ot)(880.34);
tot (ô) : spott (ott) : bot 'Bote' (ot)(1546.13).

ôt : ât 22 brot, monat (MHG mânôt), rot, tod, tot, with ô,
 rhyme with the following with â: hat, gnad, kleinot, mayestat,
rat 'Rat,' tat 'Tat.'

ôt : at 1 brot (ô) : stat 'Stadt' (a)(3094.27).

ot : ât 3 Gott (o) : hat (â)(661.28;728.34;BR28.12).

oten : oten 8 (=MHG t, tt) (t:t [1]; tt:tt [2]; t:tt [5])
boten (obl. cases 'Bote'), verboten (part.), Schotten 'Schott-
 l nder,' gesoten (part. 'sieden'), spotten.

oten :  ten 1 neuausgesoten (part. adj.) (o) : schroten 'das
 zur Geldpr gung vom Metallstab abgeschnittene St ck' ( )
 (BR69.17).

ok : ok 12 bock 'Bock,' holzbock 'T lpel,' knock 'T lpel' (cf.
 G tze), rock, schock, geschock 'Heuhaufe,' stock; these words
 with -ck rhyme 11 times with each other. seutrog 'S utrog,'
 with -g, rhymes with bock (2395.35).

 g :  g 4 zog (MHG z ch, pret. MHG ziehen) rhymes with flog
 (MHG flouc, pret. MHG vliegen) and log (MHG louc, pret. MHG
liegen 'l gen'; with   for ou by analogy to MHG preterites
b t, z ch, s t, etc., and not by MG phonological change of
 ou >  )(192.9;473.22;1420.21;3382.26).

och : och 57 bloch (MHG bloch 'Block'), doch, joch 'Joch,'
koch 'Koch,' loch, noch.

 ch :  g 29 floch (pret. MHG vliehen), hoch (adv.), zog (MHG
z ch [2341.4;2947.9;3261.9]).

och : og 2 bloch 'Block' and noch (adv.) : trog 'Trog' (283.7;
 3171.13).

og : uog 10;1 See under u.

ogen : ogen 86 bogen, geflogen, erlogen, gepflogen, gesogen,
betrogen, bewogen, gezogen.

ogen : agen 1 gezogen (o) : tagen (dat. pl. 'Tag')(a)(2234.21).

oken : oken 9 docken 'Puppe; Bund Flachs,' glocken (pl.
 'Glocke'), knocken 'Knochen,' erschrocken.

ochen : ochen 96;1 gebrochen, knochen 'Knochen,' kochen, ge-
 krochen, pochen, gerochen, gesprachen, erstochen, wochen (obl.
 cases 'Woche'). Triple rhyme: versprochen : unverbrochen :
wochen (acc. sg.)(2037.17).

ocht : ocht 1 kocht : mocht 'mochte' (2319.22).

ôs : ôs 98 (=MHG z, s) los (adv; with ôs) rhymes 14 times with gross (with ôz). The following words with z rhyme 84 times with each other: bloss (adv.; 'nakt'), floss (pret. 'fliessen'), gross (adj.), schloss (MHG slôz 'Schloss'), erschloss (pret. 'erschliessen'), schoss (MHG schôz 'Schoss'), geschoss (MHG geschôz 'Schössling'), erstoss (pres. 'erstossen').

os : os 2 Cosmographos, Latinos, Mathematicos, Sabinos (209.33; 542.34).

ôs : os 24 (=MHG ôs, ôz; os, oss) (ôs:os [1]; ôz:os [5]; ôz:oss [18]) glos (dat. sg. MHG glôse 'Glosse') : theologos (2934.21). bloss, gross, schloss 'Schloss,' with ôz, rhyme with mos (MHG mos 'Moos' [1534.18;2358.7]) and ross 'Pferd' (with oss); Delphos (1212.27;1244.26;1262.33).

ôs : âs 3 lass 'lasse' and unterlass 'Unterbrechen,' with âz, rhyme with gross and ausstoss, with ôz (819.9;2594.35;3133.29).

ôser : oser 1 liebkozer 'Liebsprecher' (ô) : zuloser 'Lauscher' (o) (1444.21).

ôsen : ôsen 4 (=MHG s; z) (z:z [3]; s:z [1]) losen (adj.; 'nichtsniütz'), with ôs, rhymes with stossen, with ôz (2494.37); erbossen (MHG erbôzen 'erschlagen'), grossen, stossen, with ôz, rhyme together (450.1;3057.6;3221.12).

ôsen : âsen 30 (=MHG ôs, ôz; âs, âz) (ôz:âz [26]; ôz:âs [3]; ôs:âz [1]) stossen, with ô, rhyme with blasen, with â (1333.20;1767.7;2708.14). grossen and stossen, with ô, rhyme 26 times with lassen (â) : brosen (MHG brôsem 'Brosame') : lassen (â) (2404.22).

osen : osen 28 (=MHG ss, zz) (zz:zz [14]; ss:zz [14]) verdrossen, geflossen, gegossen, genossen, geschlossen, with zz, rhyme 14 times with each other and 14 times with possen (pl. 'Posse'), with ss.

ôsen : osen 4 (=MHG ôz; os, oss) (ôz:os [1]; ôz:oss [3]) stossen (ôz) : mosen (pl. 'Moos') (os) (1297.18); grossen, geschossen, with ôz, rhyme with possen, with oss (306.15;1550.7; 2054.16).

ôst : ôst 1 getrost (part. MHG trôsten 'trösten') : rost (MHG pret. rôste to MHG rôsten 'in den Rost legen' (1704.10).

ost : ost 2 frost, kost, post (349.8;3241.9).

ôst : âst 1 trost (ô) : hast (â) (153.10).

- oschen : oschen 5 (=MHG sch; ss) gedroschen, goschen (sg. 'Mund'), with sch, groschen (MHG grosse [cf. Paul, II, § 222]) (1083.26;2174.10;2563.28;3190.35).
- of : of 29 (=MHG v, ff) bischof and hof 'Hof,' both with -v, rhyme with each other 16 times and 12 times with loff (LMHG lof, loff 'lief').⁸ bischof (v) : hoff 'hoffe' (ff) (438.15). ? Rudolf : Kuhbof (2603.31).
- of : af 1 hof 'Hof' : betrof (pret. 'betreffen') (705.34).
- ofen : ofen 55 (=MHG v, ff) (ff:ff [53]; ff:v [2]) hoffen, offen, gesoffen, getroffen rhyme with each other 15 times, while hoffen and gesoffen rhyme with ofen (MHG oven 'Ofen') 2 times (2777.6;3224.4); hoffen, offen, gesoffen, getroffen rhyme 37 times with geloffen (LMHG geloffen, part. MHG loufen 'laufen'); entloffen : ergroffen (part. MHG ergraben) (1808.17).
- ofen : ufen 1 See under -u.
- oft : oft 2 hofft : oft (2983.17;3327.2).
- opf : opf 15;1 knopf 'grober Kerl,' kopf, topf, tropf 'dummer Mensch.' Triple rhyme: eselskopf : knopf : tropf (3124.8).
- opfen : opfen 3 klopfen : tropfen 'dumme Menschen' (2349.3; 2931.14;3152.6).

§ 5 u-sounds (=MHG uo, u; also û and o)

- uo : uo 556;11 fru (MHG vruc 'früh'), ku 'Kuh,' ru (MHG ruowe 'Ruhe'), schu (MHG schuohe 'Schuhe'; with loss of h), tu 'imperative MHG tuon 'tun'), zu (MHG zuo), zwu (MHG fem. zwo 'zwei': 2124.15;2311.9;2785.9;3054.24;3055.31;3415.20;BR66.25; BR71.22;BR72.21).
- uo : u 102;2 "q" (with -uo?), ru 'Ruhe,' zu, zwu (fem.: 2406.31; masc. =MHG zwêne : 570.18), with uo, rhyme with du (befilstu, bistu, meinstu, sagestu, solstu, wiltu 'willst du'). Triple rhymes: zu : ru : du (2144.19); ru : du : du (3123.17). (ubu : bub, nonsense syllables: 2936.30).
- uor : uor 4 aufrur, gugelfur 'Scherz,' hur 'Hure,' schnur, schwur, unfur 'Unheil' (1295.11;1298.32;2689.28;2799.24).
- ûr : ûr 32 (=LMHG û, and MHG ne-waêere nûr 'nur') creatur, figur, fractur, natur, pur, purpur, with LMHG û, rhyme together 3 times (470.8;2532.1;BR31.8); they rhyme with MHG

⁸Cf. below, discussion of o-sounds.

ne-waere 'nur' 22 times; while the latter rhymes 7 times with ur (LMHG ûre 'Uhr').

uor : ûr 33 flur, fur 'fuhr,' hur, aufrur, blutrur 'Blurrührung,' schnur, richtsschnur 'Galgenseil,' schwur; these words with uo rhyme 30 times with nur, while fur 'fuhr,' gesellenfur 'Frohnfahrt,' aufrur, with uo, rhyme 3 times with ur 'Uhr' (907.8;3100.3;BR81.22).

uor : ur 2 aufrur, schwur, with uo, rhyme with wur 'wurde' (with u from the pret. pl. and with loss of -d) (220.30;2633.26).

uor : ur 2 anfur 'fuhr an,' schwur, with uo, rhyme with verlur (pret. 'verlieren,' with u from pret. pl.) (490.1;1616.11).

ûr : ur 6 nur rhymes 3 times with wur 'wurde' (with u) (498.20; 2743.20), once with chur (unmutated form of MHG kür 'Prüfung'; 254.30); while pur and creatur, with û, rhyme with wur 'wurde' (718.24;2500.27).

ûr : or 2 ur (LMHG ûre 'Uhr') : frauentor, vor (o) (2729.15; BR82.34).

uor : ûr : ur 1 schnur (uo) : nur (û) : verlur (u) (1467.21).

urm : urm 1 sturm : wurm 'Schlange' (1654.1).

urm : orm 19 sturm, wurm, with u, rhyme with furm (MHG vorm 'Form').

uorn : urn 5 furn (pret. 'fahren') and hurn (obl. cases 'Hure'), with uo, rhyme with diebsturn 'Stadtgefängnis,' turn 'Turm,' wurn 'wurden' (with loss of -d) (1281.20;1422.14;2783.28; 2984.2;3184.10).

urb : urb 1 sturb : erwurb (u from the pret. plural forms) (BR57.12).

urben : urben 1 sturben 'starben' : verdurben 'verdarben' (941.13).

urt : urt 9 (=MHG d, t) wurd 'wurde' rhymes with the following: geburt, furt 'Einfahrt' (3302.15); Erfurt.

urrt : orrt See under -o.

urg : urch 1 Würzburg : dardurch (BR25.11).

urts : urts 1 (=MHG z) schurz 'Schurze' : kurz (2650.4).

urtsen : urtsen 1 (=MHG z) kurzen : wurzen 'Pflanzen' (1078.15).

urst : urst 3 durst : wurst 'Wurst' (2502.24;2635.17;2649.33).

uol : uol 2 bul ('Liebhaber'; pres. 'buhlen'), schul 'Schule,' stul 'Stuhl' (2708.32;2753.6).

uoler : uoler 1 buler 'Liebhaber' : schuler 'Schüler' (2692.8).

- uolen : uolen 1 bulen 'buhlen' : spulen 'spülen' (2145.37).
- uolen : olen 1 bulen : umsulen 'im Kot herumwälzen' (to MHG soIn 'bebeschmutzen, im Schmutze wälzen'; cf. Dwb)(2771.25).
- ult : ult 81 (=MHG d) geduld, huld, unhuld, schuld; verschulde : ungedulde (3089.5).
- ult : uolt 1 schuld : bult 'buhlt' (2804.29).
- ult : olt See under -o.
- ulter : ulter 1 schulter : waschmutter 'Waschschüssel' (3259.6).
- ulden : ulden 7 dulden, gedulden, hulden, schulden, beschulden, entschulden 'entschuldigen.'
- uldig : uldig 5 duldig, geduldig, schuldig, unschuldig (1359.34; 1388.12;2896.11;3296.17;3305.23).
- uom : uom 8 rum 'Ruhm' : -tum (reichtum, etc.).
- um : um 410;7;2 (=MHG m, mm, mbe, m[p]) dum (MHG tum[p]), frum (MHG vrum), krum (MHG krumbe), kum 'komme,' num 'nahm' (with u from pret. pl. [261.32;898.32;3059.14;3294.11]), stum (MHG stum[m]), sum (MHG summe), um (prep.); Amulium, Anniversarium, Antimonium, Apostolorium, Aventinum, Berengarium, Bresilium, Brutum, Budeum, capitolium, Claudum, Cocleum, conci- lium, Cornelium, Delum, Epitaphium, evangelium, Ferragum, Gregorium, Horatium, Julium, Knopffium, Lazarum, Lotharium, Lucretium, mathematicum, Monstrum, Nicolaum, Noricum, noratium, Oldendorpium, Patagogium, Pistorum, publicolum, Quintum, Ru- dolphum, Sibellium, secretarium, Servium, Severum, Stolzium, summarum, Tarquinium, Taurum, Ursum. Triple rhymes: 785.17; 1278.12;1278.36;3043.26;3045.26;3049.7;3069.38. Quatrains: um : kum : kum : um (1756.23); um : darum : kum : frum (3403.4).
- um : uom 50 frum 'fromm,' kum 'komme' (12 times); Anniversarium, Faustulum, Franciscum, Hostilium, seminarium, tertium; these words with u rhyme with mum (MHG muome 'Mutterschwester'), rum 'Ruhm,' tum 'Dom,' bistum, -tum (reichtum, etc.), with uo.
- um : ôm 1 See under -o.
- umen : umen 220;1 (=MHG m, mb, mm) kumen 'kommen' rhymes 215 times with brummen 'Brummen,' drummen 'das Pommeln' (mb), frummen (m), summen (mm)(once written with o [3375.28]), darum- men (mb), while brummen, drummen 'pommeln,' krummen, geschwum- men (m), übersummen 'überrechnen' (mm), stummen (mm), darummen (mb) rhyme with each other 5 times (551.17;625.4;1103.24; 2937.2;3169.20). Triple rhyme: widerumen : kommen : drummen

(1454.8).

umen : uomen 5 kumen, darumen, with u, rhyme with blumen (pl. 'Blume'), mumen 'Mutterschwester,' furstentumen, heylygtumen, with uo (518.31;545.5;639.34;2996.11;3016.32).

umen : omen 487;2 kumen 'kommen' rhymes 463 times with genomen 'genommen' (written with u 35 times); drummen 'Trommel' (2631.5;2860.36), frummen (written with o twice [287.33; 577.13]), übersummen 'überrechnen' (114.17;1025.10;3309.12), stummen (1399.29), widerummen (16 times) rhyme 24 times with genomen (usually written with u in these rhymes).

umpen : umpen 2 lumpen 'Fetzen' : schlumpen 'schlumpige Menschen' (3078.8;3087.6).

un : un 6 (=MHG n, nne) (un:un [3]; unn:unn [1]; un:unn [1])
nun (MHG nu; cf. Paul, II, § 67), sun (MHG sun 'Sohn'), sunn (MHG sunne 'Sonne'), wunn (MHG wunne 'Wonne') (the latter three written with o and u [579.1;1195.21;1220.4;3233.7; 3300.30;3301.34]).

uon : uon 1 galgenhun 'Huhn' : tun (MHG tuon 'tun') (2644.35).

un : uon 1 nun : tun (639.8).

un : ôn 20 See under -ô.

un : on 19 See under -o.

un : ân 93 See under -o.

un : an 68 See under o.

unen : unen 27 (=MHG nn) brunnen 'Brunnen,' gebrunnen (part. MHG brinnen 'brennen'), Hunnen 'die Hunnen,' nunnen (obl. cases 'Nonne'), entrunden (part. 'entrinnen'), gespunnen 'gesponnen,' sunnen (obl. cases 'Sonne'), besunnen (part. 'besinnen'), gewunnen (part. 'gewinnen').

uonen : uonen 1 haselhunen (pl. 'Haselhuhn') : tunen (long form of inf. tuon) (3185.25).⁹

unen : ônen 2 See under -ô.

unt : unt 252;2 (=MHG d, de, n+t) bund 'Bund,' fund 'fand' (with u from pret. plural), gesund, grund, vergunst (pres. 'vergönnen'), hund, jetzund, kund 'Kunde; konnte,' mund, pfund, 'Pfund,' rund, schlund, stund 'Stunde,' sund (MHG sunde [not MHG sünde] 'Sünde'), urkund 'Urkunde,' verwund 'verwunde'; Burgund, Eclaramund, Freymund, Künigund, Reinmund, Trabezund.

⁹Cf. the double forms in Nb: tū (MHG tuon)--[ts]tūn (MHG [ze]tuonne); cf. Gebhardt, PBB, XXIV (1899), 407-408.

Triple rhymes: 1465.19;3075.28.

unt : uont 11;1 (=MHG und, unde; uont) befund 'befand' (with u from pret. plural forms), gesund, grund, jetzund, kund 'konnte,' rund; these words with u rhyme with stund (pret. 'stehen'), with uo. Triple rhyme: grund (u) : kund 'kund' (u) : stund 'stand' (uo)(187.25).

unt : .ant See under -a.

unden : unden 108 (=OHG unden, unten) gebunden (OHG nt), gefunden (OHG nd), jetzunden (OHG n-d: iez[e]+un+dann; cf. Dwb), kunden (obl. cases 'der Kunde'; OHG nd), kunden 'konnten' (OHG nd), erkunden 'erkundigen' (OHG nd), stunden (obl. cases 'Stunde'; OHG nt), geschunden (OHG nt), gesunden (obl. cases 'gesund'; OHG nt), wunden (pl. 'Wunde'; OHG nt), überwunden (OHG nt); Lunden 'Londen' (1961.24).

unten : uonten 1 jetzunden (u) : stunden (pret. 'stehen')(uo) (2989.28).

unden : unnen 33 (=OHG nd; nn) gefunden (OHG nd; written gefunnen; cf. Gebhardt, § 112.3a and note 1; § 114.1 and note 1) and jetzunden (OHG nd; written jetzunnen) rhyme with brunnen 'Brunnen,' gebrunnen (part. brinnen 'brennen'), nunnen (obl. cases 'Nonne'), entrunden (part. 'entrinnen'), besunnen (part. 'besinnen'), gewunnen (part. 'gewinnen').

under : under 34 blunder 'Plunder,' jetzunder, aufmunder 'macht munter,' besunder 'besonders,' -under, wunder 'Wunder,' verwunder 'verwundre.'

under : oner 8 words ending in under (jetzunder, etc.), and wunder 'Wunder' rhyme with dunder (MHG doner 'Donner').

undert : undert 5 hundert, gesundert 'gesondert,' besundert 'besonders,' verwundert (88.20;416.24;2443.33;2979.9;3280.2).

ung : ung 19 festung, gastung, genung 'genug' (nasal infix; =LMHG genung; cf. Behaghel, p. 298 and Lexer), unterhaltung, jung, kleidung, ordnung, rüstung, sprung (pret. 'springen'; with u from pret. plural), verehrung, zwung (pret. 'zwingen,' with u from pret. plural forms); Bechtung.

ung : unk 7 genung, schlung 'Schlund' (written schlunck), with ung, rhyme with trunk 'Trunk,' with unk (123.11;297.26;1085.16; 2731.14;2959.31;3193.34;3272.33).

ungen : ungen 25 gedrungen, jungen, verschlungen, gesprungen, gesungen, zungen (obl. cases 'Zunge'), bezwungen. ? jungen : genommen (written genummen)(3097.5).

- unken : unken 15 bedunken 'Phantasie, Meinung; dünken,' gedunken (inf. 'gedünken'), halunken, gehunken (inf. st. vb. 'hinken'), versunken, getrunken.
- unft : unft 2 zukunft, vernunft, zunft (2034.7;2507.4).
- unst : unst 97;3 brunst, dunst, gunst, kunst 'Kunst,' blutrunst 'Blutfluss,' sunst 'sonst.' Triple rhymes: sunst : kunst : gunst (3043.1;3048.29;3111.36).
- uob : uob 5 bub 'Bube, Knabe,' grub (pret. 'graben'), hub (pret. 'heben') (599.12;765.18;2998.14;3064.24;BR35.14).
- uoben : uoben 4 buben (pl. 'Bube') : gruben (dat. and acc. sg. 'Grube') (863.20;2271.13;2949.16;3204.26).
- uoben : uben 6 buben, gruben, with uo, rhyme with stuben (obl. cases 'Stube') (1383.32;1934.13;2280.19;2609.16;2630.18;3186.13).
- upen : upen 1 (=MHG pp; MG pp) kluppen (dat. sg. 'Klemme, Zwangholz') : schnuppen 'das Schneuzen' (to MG snuppen = UG snpffen) (2178.11).
- uot : uot 573;9 blut, glut, gut, hut (MHG huot 'der Hut'; MHG huote 'die Hut'), mut, rut 'Rute,' tut 'tut.' gute : tute (3091.27); gute : mute (3081.12).
- ût : ût 1 servitut (û?) : tribut (1238.27).
- uot : ut 6 blut, mut, tut (with uo) : jud 'Jude,' statut (with -ud, -ut respectively) (261.16;2426.11;2431.20;2455.1;2458.1;3274.15).
- uot : ût 15;1 blut, gut, tut (with uo) : servitut (û?). Triple rhyme: blut : tribut : tribut (1278.28).
- uoter : uoter 30 (=MHG uoder, uoter; uo-dir) bruder rhymes with zu dir (written zuder) 4 times (25.29;1015.25;1077.34;1491.10); while bruder and zu dir (written zutter) rhyme 26 times with mutter. (The mutter : zutter rhymes: 579.27;2359.31.)
- udel : udel 1 hudel 'schlechte Person' : geschnudel 'Nasenschleim' (287.31).
- udler : udler 1 hudler : sudler 'Besudler' (2890.28).
- uden : uden 1 buden : juden 'Juden' (2431.34).
- noten : noten 7 bluten, guten, anmuten, ruten (pl. 'Rute') (239.20;384.20;385.36;1309.8;1901.31;2114.6;3132.31).
- uots : uots 25 bluts, guts, muts. gutes : muts (3086.38); unmuts : guts (2084.19).
- uts : uts 17 (=MHG uz) nutz, schutz, trutz 'Trotz.' trutz

'Trotz' : kurz (3157.3).

uots : uts 56;1 (=MHG uots; uz) guts, muts, tuts 'tut es,' with uo, rhyme with nutz, schutz, trutz, with u. Triple rhyme: guts : nutz : schutz (2276.28).

utsen : utsen 3 aufmutzen 'schmücken,' nutzen 'das Nutzen; nützen,' schmutzen 'schmunzeln,' beschutzen 'beschützen' (1623.13;1817.35;2670.23).

uog : uog 86 fug 'Fug,' genug, klug, krug, pflug, schlag (pret. 'schlagen'), trug (pret. 'tragen'); kluge : truge (550.15).

uog : ug 20 genug, klug, with uo, rhyme 9 times with zug 'Zug,' with u; genug, schlag, trug, with uo, rhyme 5 times with zug (pret. 'ziehen'; with u from the pret. plural [1445.31;2110.4;2321.2;3069.14;3303.15]), and genug (uo) rhymes 6 times with verzug (MHG verzuog[g], to MHG verziehen [1353.32;1943.1;2168.19;2190.18;2510.34;2983.32]).

uog : og 10;1 genug, klug, pflug, with uo, rhyme with betrug (MHG betroc[g] 'Betrug'). Triple rhyme: klug : genug : be-trug (385.5).

uoch : uoch 7 buch, fluch, such 'suche,' tuch.

uoch : uch 5 fluch, such, with uo, rhyme with bruch, geruch, spruch, with u (339.20;402.20;1040.16;1633.23;1693.14).

uog : uoch 11 fug, genug, klug, krug, with uog, rhyme with fluch 'Fluch,' schuch (sg. and pl. 'Schuh'), such 'suche,' tuch 'Tuch,' with uoch.

uog : uch 4 genug, klug (with uo) : bruch, spruch (with u) (549.30;569.30;2773.12;2773.27).

ug : uch 1 vorzug 'Vorzug' (ug) : lobspruch (uch) (517.1).

uogen : ugen 1 trugen (pret. 'tragen') : zugen (pret. 'ziehen') (81.10).

uken : uken 18 brucken (pl. 'Brücke'), bucken 'bücken,' jucken 'kratzen,' rucken 'Rücken; rücken,' schmucken 'schmücken,' zucken 'zucken.'

uochen : uochen 39 buchen 'ins Buch schreiben,' fluchen, kuchen 'Kuchen,' suchen, with u.

uochen : uchen 9 fluchen, suchen, with uo, rhyme with kuchen (obl. cases 'Küche').

ugend : ugend 26 jugend : tugend.

ukt : ukt 5 gedruckt, geruckt, geschmuckt, gezuckt, entzuckt (549.24;856.13;2530.28;3110.31); gerucket : gepucket 'gebuckt' (2738.15).

uoct : uoct 14 flucht (pres. and part. 'fluchen'), verrucht 'achtlos, sorglos' (to MHG ruochen), sucht (pres. and part. 'suchen').

ucht : ucht 12 flucht 'Flucht,' frucht, sucht 'Sucht,' zucht 'Zucht.'

uoct : ucht 25 flucht (pres. 'fluchen'), verrucht (part. adj.), sucht (pres. 'suchen'), with uo, rhyme with the following with u: flucht 'frucht,' frucht, sucht 'Sucht,' zucht.

uks : uks 3 (=MHG gs, hs, ks) fuchs : luchs (1678.19); fuchs : flugs 'schnell' (2199.28); flugs : drucks (gen. 'Druck') (2446.28).

uos : uos 29 (=MHG z) buss 'Busse,' fuss, gruss, muss.

us : us 52 (=MHG z; s) verdruss, fluss, beschluss; many nouns ending in -nuss (finsternuss, hindernuss, etc.); the following words with the Latin ending, us: Astronomus, Bartholomeus, Gerngarius, Brutus, Carolus, Collatinus, Eberus, Episcopus, Ferragus, Franciscus, Gabinus, Historicus, Historiographus, Heinricus, Horatius, Julius, Junius, Livius, Lucretius, Mathe-sius, Mercurius, Neuclericus, Palatinus, Peniculus, Petrus, Plutarchus, Pocatus, Priamus, Priscianus, Romulus, Tarquinius, Theseus, Tullius, Ursus, Venus, Volcanus, Wolfius.

uos : us 81 (=MHG uoz; uz, us) buss, fuss, muss, with uo, rhyme with the following words with u: beschluss, fluss, guss, kuss, schuss, verdruss; words ending in -nuss; and the following: Amulius, Cleobalus, Collatinus, Curiatus, Dionysius, Ferragus, Laurentius, Magnus, Mercurius, Mirus, Montagius, Peniculus, Piramus, Publius, Romulus, Sauffatius, Secretarius, Stoltzius, Tullius.

uost : uost 12 musst : tust 'tust.'

ust : ust 22 brust, lust, sust 'sonst,' wusst, bewusst, sup-penwust 'unflätige Suppe' (2393.25).

uost : ust 8 musst, tust (uo) : lust, sust, wusste (u).

uof : uof 1 beruf 'Beruf' (f) : schuf (pret. 'schaffen') (ff) (1944.17).

ufen : ofen 1 puffen (MHG buffen 'schlagen') : versuffen (part. 'versaufen'; for change of vowel, see the discussion of u-sounds below) (2628.31).

uft : uft 3 gruft, kluft (f), luft (f), pufft 'schlägt' (ff) (527.24; 1628.30; 3227.5).

upfen : upfen 2 hupfen, schnupfen, zupfen (1624.14; 2184.27).

upft : upft 1 gerupft (part. 'rupfen') : auszupft 'ausgezupft' (2966.12).

§ 6 ai-sounds (=MHG î, fe, ei, iu, û, öü)

î : î 193;1 bei, brei 'Brei,' drei (MHG masc. and fem. drî; 24 times), frei (adv.; vb. 'werbe'), sei (subj. 'sein'), weih 'Weihe,' verzeih 'verzeihe'; policei (MHG polfiz. Triple rhyme: drei : sei : bei (1414.2).

fe : fe 2 cantzelei, fantesei, schmeichelei, verrättherei (1298.30;2937.18).

ei : ei 7 mancherlei (French -lei), geschrei, zwei (neut. MHG zwei: 2481.9;BR51.11;BR64.12; once the antecedent is fem. [=MHG zwâ]: 3236.10;¹⁰ on another occasion the antecedent is fem. and masc.: 3295.25).

iu : iu 16 neu, reu 'Reue,' gereu 'gereue,' scheu 'Scheu,' treu. treue : reue (1465.25).

î : fe 110;5 bei, drei (fem.: 1621.32), frei, sei; these with î rhyme with the following with fe: artznei, astronomei, büberei, bulerei, cantzlei, clerisei, copei, fantasei, gasterei, gaucklerei, hurerei, kleisnerei, krämerei, kupplerei, melancholei, meiderei 'Mörderei,' partei, pastei, plackerei 'Strassenrauberei,' prophecei, sacristei, schmarotzei, schriebererei, tyranneri, verättherei, vicarei (MHG vicarje), zauberei; Lampartei. Triple rhymes: 625.35;1531.26;3041.13;3109.20; 3115.34. herbeie 'herbei' : artzneie (3092.3).

î : ei 22;1 bei, frei, sei, verzeih, with î, rhyme with abtei (2863.7), mancherlei (French -lei), geschrei (MHG schrî, not schrîe, schrîf; cf. Paul, II, § 87), zwei.

î : eie 3 sei rhymes with mai ('Mai'=MHG meie) and gespei (MHG gespeie) (782.7;3056.18); christei (written Christy) : mai (BR67.1).

î : iu 68;1 bei, drei (MHG fem. drî: 3074.19), frei, sei, with î, rhyme with the following with iu: drei (MHG neut. driu:

¹⁰ This is the first of two examples (for the second, cf. below, and note 11), in rhyme, of Ayrer's failure to distinguish carefully among MHG zwêne (masc.), zwâ (fem.), and zwei (neut.). In the Nürnberg dialect this distinction was universally kept until ca. 1875 (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 4; 361). Since that time only the outlying districts of the city of Nürnberg still make a distinction in the three genders; the city itself uses tswâ for all three (cf. Gebhardt, loc. cit.).

1596.35;1637.10;1896.13;BR46.8), neu, scheu, treu. darbeie : treue 'Treue' (3152.1). Triple rhyme: treu : neu : dabei (224.27).

i : û 4 dabei : seu (pl. 'Sau')(1790.9;1790.20;3185.23); leih 'leihe' : gebeu (collective 'Bau')(611.34).

i : öü 7 ausspei 'speie aus,' sei, with i, rhyme with freu, erfreu and heu (MHG höuwe 'Heu')(924.30;1377.26;1562.32;2402.6;3031.38); seie : erfreue (3085.26). drei (fem.; =MHG drî) : freu 'freue' (2835.1).

ie : ei 11 hurerei, liberei, mumerei, stockerei, tapesterei, tyrannei, verrätherei, zauberei; these words with ie rhyme with the following with ei: geschrei, allerlei, mancherlei. bulerei : zwei (2735.11).¹¹

ie : iu 7 bulerei, hurerei, lackei, meyderei, partei, schel-merei, with ie, rhyme with scheu, treu.

ei : iu 2 mancherlei and ausschrei 'Ausschrei,' with ei, rhyme with treu and getreu, with iu (600.23;BR28.10).

iu : û 8 neu, treu, with iu, rhyme with gebeu and seu (pl. 'Sau'), with û.

iu : öü 5 treu : erfreu.

eie : ie 1 may (MHG meie 'Mai') : nie (BR80.28).

i : ie : öu 1 darbei : mumerei : freu (3110.10).

i-en : i-en 23 (=MHG îen, înen) deien 'gedeihen,' dreien (dat. pl. 'dreî'), freien (adj.; vb. 'frei machen; werben'), leihen, schreien, seien (subj. 'sein'), speien, weihen, zeihen (MHG zihen 'verkündigen'), verzeihen (MHG verzihen 'absagen').

eien : eien 2 ermeien 'ergötzen' : reien 'Tanz' (958.23); lackeien (dat. pl. 'Lakei') : zweien (dat. pl. 'zwei')(2243.8).

iuwen : iuwen 32 bleuen (MHG bliuwen 'schlagen'), zerkeuen 'zerkâuen,' reuen, gereuen, scheuen, treuen.

i-en : eien 4 schalmeien 'Rohrpfeife,' schreien, seien (subj. 'sein'), all with i, rhyme with reien 'Tanz,' with ei.

i-en : iuwen 25 artzneien, dreien, freien, leihen, schreien, zeihen 'verkündigen,' verzeihen 'absagen,' zweien, with i, rhyme with the following with iu: bleuen 'schlagen,' reuen, gereuen, scheuen, treuen.

i-en : ûen 1 weihen 'weihen' : gebeuen (721.27).

¹¹The antecedent here is masculine, hence we should expect zwen=MHG zwêne.

f-en : öüwen 26;1 artzneien, benedeien 'segnen,' gedeihen,
dreien, leihen, schreien, seien, weihen, zeihen, verzeihen;
 these words with f rhyme with the following with öü: erfreuen
 and geheuen (MHG gehöüwen 'entfernen'; to MHG houwen 'schla-
 gen, entfernen'; cf. Lexer) (2327.20). Triple rhyme: gedeihen
 : seien : freuen (1487.5).

eien : öüwen 13 meien (dat. 'Mai'), reien 'Tanz,' zweien; these
 with ei rhyme with erfreuen, with öü.

iuwen : öüwen 28;1 keuen 'käuen,' reuen, gereuen, scheuen,
treuen; these words with iu rhyme with erfreuen, with öü.

Triple rhyme: treuen : reuen : freuen (1325.13).

iuwen : üen 1 keuen : seuen (pl. 'Sau') (1797.28).

üen : öüwen 1 gebeuen : erfreuen (1796.21).

f-en : eien : öüwen 2 verleihen (i) : reien 'Tanz' (ei) : er-
freuen (öü) (879.27;1852.19).

f-en : iuwen : öüwen 2 seien (i) : getreuen (iu) : freuen (öü)
 (866.26); gedeihen (i) : gereuen (iu) : freuen (öü) (15.26).

eir : eir 2 eir 'Eier,' meir 'Meier,' schleir 'Schleier'
 (251.25;2628.23).

iur : iur 119;1 abenteur (MHG âventiure), eur 'euer,' breur
 (MHG briuer 'Brauer'), heur 'in diesem Jahre,' ungeheur,
spreur (pl. MHG spru 'Spreu'; cf. Götze), steur, teur. aben-
teure, ungeheure, feure (3104.19;3147.55). Triple rhyme:
feur : teur : steur (3044.12).

fr : iur 3 stulfeir 'die Feier der Errichtung des päpstlichen
 Stuhles zu Rom' and Speir (the city 'Speier'), with f, rhyme
 with steur and teur, both with iu (1744.32;BR55.23;BR56.23).

iur : ür 2 abenteur, ungeheur (iu) : gemeur (collective MHG mür
 'Mauer') (771.26;1653.22).

frn : frn 4 umleiern 'die Leier auf der Wanderschaft spielen' :
feiern 'feiern; Fest halten' (3077.17;3087.20;3328.5;3383.26).

iuren : iuren 4 euren (dat. pl. MHG iuer), ungeheuren, neuren
 (MHG niuwer 'neu machen'), steuren (MHG stiuren 'Steuer be-
 zahlen'), beteuren (MHG betiuren 'teur machen') (143.9;268.14;
 918.5;998.22).

iren : iuren 1 feiren 'feiern' : steuren (2587.20).

iurt : iurt 1 ausgesteurt 'ausgestattet' : verteurt (3400.19).

irt : iurt 2 feirt 'feiert' : verneurt (721.8); feiret : beteuret
 (BR41.10).

irten : irten 1 feirten : umleirten 'herum gehen und die Leier

spielen' (2632.5).

fī : fī 19 beil (MHG bīhel 'Beil'), eil 'Eile,' donnerkeil,
meil 'Meile,' pfeil 'Pfeil,' weil 'Weile'; Zeil (a place).

eil : eil 55 feil (MHG veil 'kaufbar'; pres. MHG veilen 'sich
irren; fehlen; betrügen'; not to MHG vālen; cf. Paul, II,
§ 87, note 3; Lexer; Dwb, s.v. 'Fehl')(1343.37;2123.16), geil
'üppig, lustig,' heil, seil, teil.

fī : eil 11 eil, meil, weil, with fī, rhymes with the following
with ei: feil 'kaufbar,' geil 'üppig, lustig, froh'), acker-
geil 'ungeschnittener Schwein' (to MHG geil 'üppig'; cf.
Schmeller Bwb, I, 890;[1901.25]), heil, teil.

fī : iuwel 3 ereil, keil, weil, with fī, rhyme with the follow-
ing with iū: greul (MHG griuwel 'Schrecken, Grauen') and
weschbleul 'Holz zum Wäsche schlagen' (to MHG bliuwel 'Bläuel,
Schlägel'; cf. Dwb)(283.13;1785.30;2708.26).

eil : êl 1 teil (ei) : feil (MHG vêl 'Mantel'; not MHG vāel;
cf. Lexer)(3234.27).

fīler : fīler 1 pfeiler : Neuenweiler (a place)(BR56.21).

fīlen : fīlen 4 eilen, holzbeilen, verweilen, bisweilen (242.31;
1424.25;1490.3;2085.34).

eilen : eilen 6 heilen, teilen.

fīlen : eilen 2 eilen, kurtzweilen : mitteilen (1322.5;1908.32).

fīlen : iuwelen 5 beilen (MHG bīlen 'bellen'), eilen, with fī,
rhyme with beulen and heulen, with iū (309.30;1043.12;2953.28;
3145.34;3167.23).

fīlen : ûlen 1 unterweilen : seulen (pl. MHG sûl 'Säule')(119.19).

fīlen : aīlen 1 eilen : erfeilen 'wegstecken' (to MHG vailen
'verheimlichen, übergeben' ? cf. Lexer)(1389.31).

eilen : iuwelen 2 heilen : beulen (2542.4;2565.23).

eilen : ûlen 1 teilen : seulen (acc. sg. 'Säule')(411.23).

fīlt : eilt 1 eilt 'ihr eilt' : geteilt (316.27).

eils : eils 1 teils (adv.) : unheils (2549.32).

eilig : eilig 3 heilig : mitteilig (2998.7;3029.34;BR30.26).

iulich : iulich 1 greulich : scheulich (2528.36).

eim : eim 5 heim, daheim, geheim 'Geheimnis' (86.16;715.24;
2020.31;2313.23;2912.12).

iūm : ûm 1 verleum 'verleumde' (iū) : reum 'räume auf' (û)
(2333.23).

fīmen : fīmen 1 schleimen 'mit Schleim wässern' : leimen 'Leim
gebrauchen' (532.26).

in : in 2167;29;1 -ein (adv.: darein, herein, hinein, etc.), grein 'greine,' mein (pronoun), pein, Rein 'Rhein,' schein, schrein 'Kasten,' schwein, sein, gesein (MHG gesin 'sein'), wein 'Wein'; many diminutives: brüderlein, eckelein, fingerlein, fräulein, herrlein, jungfräulein, kindelein (sg.), kinderlein (pl.), kräutlein, lägelein 'Fässchen,' liedlein, mägdelein, männlein, messerlein, mütterlein, pferdelein, ringlein, semelein, söhnlein, spenfercklein (pl. 'junger Schwein'), stülein, töchterlein, winkelein 'Witwensitz im Bauernhof,' zipperlein 'Fussgicht,' etc. Quatrain: wein : hinein : nein 'hinein' : mein (pronoun) (1755.33).

ein : ein 37 allein (adv.), bein 'Bein,' gemein 'Gemeinde; gemein,' klein, stein, wein 'weine.' kleine : sesselbeine 'Bein eines Sessels' (3085.19); alleine : keine (3153.7).

in : ein 483;8 -ein (adv.: darein, hinein), dein (pronoun), mein (pronoun), pein, schwein, sein, wein 'Wein'; Cüntzlein, Latein, ständlein, trühelein, waldvögelein; these words with i rhyme with the following with ei: allein, bein 'Bein,' ein (numeral; BR53.18), merfein 'Meerfee' (1654.21), kein, klein, Main ('Fluss Main'), mein (pres. 'meinen'), nein 'nein,' rein 'rein,' stein. Triple rhymes: 528.16;921.10;1511.26;2610.33; 3039.10;3041.2;3113.6;3179.30. alleine, eine, keine : meine, reine 'herein' (1026.24;3140.11;3155.20).

in : iun 6 ein (adv.), mein, sein, wein 'Wein,' with i, rhyme with neun (MHG niun 'neun').

in : ûn 2 pein and sein, with i, rhyme with zeun (pl. MHG zûn) (738.6;756.6).

einer : einer 5 einer, keiner, kleiner, reiner (216.13;799.33; 830.3;1381.17;3010.28).

iner : einer 1 greiner 'Winzeler' (i) : keiner (ei) (2496.34).

iner : iuner 1 zigeuner (i) : streiner (to MHG striunen 'schnappernd umherstreifen' (2420.7).

iner : einer : iuner 1 hereiner 'herein' (i) : kleiner (ei) : streiner 'Vagant' (to MHG striunen) (iu) (2973.21).

einen : einen 14 beinen (dat. pl. 'Bein'), einen (adj.), keinen, kleinen, meinen (vb.), vereinen 'vereinigen,' erscheinen (trans. 'zeigen, beweisen, offenbaren'), weinen 'weinen.'

inen : einen 13;1 greinen 'das Greinen; winzeln,' erscheinen (intr. st. vb. 'erscheinen'), seinen (adj.), with i, rhyme with the following with ei: meinen (vb.), weinen 'weinen.'

Triple rhyme: erscheinen (intr.; î) : meinen (vb.; ei) : keinen (ei) (1400.31).

einen : ünen 2 keinen, meinen (vb.), with ei, rhyme with zeunen (pl. 'Zaun'), verzeunen 'verzäunen,' with û (1934.10; 2285.20).

înt : înt 44 (=MHG nd, nt) feind (MHG vî(e)nt), greint 'winzelt,' heint 'heute Abend,' scheint (intr. st. vb.), seind 'sind' (cf. below, § 6, the discussion of 'sind'). I emend heute (: feind: 3141.14) to heint.

înt : iunt 12;1 feind, heint, seind 'sind,' with î rhyme with the following with iu: freund, gefrendt 'gefrendet.'

Triple rhyme: feind : erscheint : freund (3114.16). I emend heut (: freund: 2891.5) to heint. sein (seind?) : freund (633.30).

eint : iunt 2 meint 'ihr meint,' gemeint 'gemeint,' with ei, rhyme with freund, with iu (95.1; 2230.36).

înden : iunden 1 feinden (pl. 'Feind') (î) : freunden (pl. 'Freund') (iu) (427.9).

îns : îns 1 seins (gen.) : weins (gen. 'Wein') (2646.17).

eins : eins 1 eins (pronoun) : keins (1248.28).

einst : einst 3 kleinst (superlative), meinst 'meist' (nasal infix), meinst (2d person 'meinen'), weinst (87.1; 970.4; 3350.17).

einzig : einzig 1 einzig : zweinzig 'zwanzig' (BR23.7).

îngt : einigt 1 peinigt : vereinigt (2533.6).

îb : îb 267;1 bleib, kneib 'Messer' (2781.23), leib, schreib, treib, weib; Eyb (a place; BR72.26). Triple rhyme: schreib treib : bleib (3040.26).

îber : îber 7 leiber, schreiber, treiber, weiber.

îben : îben 287;2 bleiben, reiben, scheiben (pl. 'Scheibe'), schreiben, treiben, weiben 'Weibern,' verweiben 'verheiraten.'

îbt : îbt 11 bleibt, schreibt, treibt.

îbs : îbs 4 leibs : weibs (353.30; 766.12; 2770.33; 3071.11).

ît : ît 140;2 (=MHG ît [=MHG ît; <iget; <ibet]; îd, îdt) (ît:ît [93]; ît:ît [<iget, ibet][47]) verartzneit, freit 'macht frei; wirbt,' gebenedeit 'gesegnet,' geit 'gibt' (MHG gît < gibet), leit 'liegt' (MHG lît < liget), vermaledeit, neid 'Neid,' verneidt 'verneidet,' propheceit, reit 'reite,' gescheit (adv.), schreit (pres. 'schreien'), seit 'Seite; seit; seid,' streit, weit, zeit. weite 'weit' : zeite 'Zeit' (3027.37). Triple rhymes: schreit : zeit : zeit (1936.20);

seid : seid : weit (3049.18).

eit : eit 328;1 (eit:eit [264]; eit:eit [<ējet, ēget, aget; 64]) arbeit, beid 'beide,' eid 'Eid,' heid 'Heide,' -heit, -keit, kleid, leid, beleid, beleidt 'geführt, begleitet,' geleit 'Geleit,' bereit, scheid, abscheid 'Abschied,' bescheid, unterscheid 'Unterschied,' weid 'Weide'; gejeit 'Gejagd' (eit <ējet), geleit 'gelegt' (eit <ēget), jeit 'Jagd' (eit <aget [Bavarian; cf. Michels, § 170]), meit 'Magd' (sg. and pl.; eit <aget, ēgit), seit 'sagt' (eit <aget), treid 'Getreide' (ei <ēge). Triple rhyme: kleid 'gekleidet' : leid (adv.) : bescheid (3070.8). geneigt (part. 'neigen' [contraction of eiget > eit = geneit ?]) : meit 'Magd' (2332.4).

iut : iut 35 bedeut, heut, leut 'Leute,' verneut 'verneuert,' gereut, veruntreut 'untreu gehalten.'

ût : ût 1 heut (pl. 'Haut') : leut 'läutet' (3291.24).

ît : eit 336;10 (ît:eit [287]; ît [<ibe, ige]:eit [23]; ît:eit [<ēje, ēge]:[3]) meid 'meide,' neid, reit, gescheit, schneid 'Messer; Schwert,' schreit (pres. 'schreien' and 'schreiten'), seit, seid 'seid,' streit, St. Veit, weit, zeit; geit 'gibt,' leit 'liegt'; these words with î rhyme with the following with ei: arbeit, beid 'beide,' beit (pres. MHG beiten 'zögern, warten'), eid, -heit, -keit, kleid, leid, bereit, scheid 'scheide,' bescheid, unterscheid 'Unterschied'; gejeit 'gejagt' (917.2), geleit 'gelegt' (1246.26), umpleit (written vmbpleit) 'umgeplagt' (3297.28).

ît : iut 187;3 (ît:iut [156]; ît [<iget, ibet]:iut [31]) albeit 'alle Zeit' ? (to MHG bîten 'warten' ? [2333.19]), vermaledeit, neid, reit, gescheit, geschmeid 'Geschmiede,' schneit (pres. 'schneien'), schreit, seid, seit, streit, St. Veit, weit, zeit; geit 'gibt,' leit 'liegt'; these words with î rhyme with the following with iu: beut 'biete,' bleut (pres. MHG bliuwen 'schlagen'), bedeut, heut, keut (pres. MHG kiuwen 'kâuen'), leut 'Leute,' reut (pres. 'reuen; ausreuten'), speut (pres. MHG spiuwen 'speien'). Triple rhymes: zeit (î) : Veit (î) : bleut 'schlägt' (iu) (2144.25); zeit (î) : geit 'gibt' (î) : heut (iu) (3119.12); seid 'seid' (î) : heut (iu) : bedeut (iu) (3120.8). ? feind (int) : leut 'Leute' (iu) (1952.36).

ît : ût 11 seid, seit, gescheit (adv.), schreit, streit, zeit, with î, rhyme with the following with û: beut (MHG bûte,

mutated form of Low German bûti 'Beute' [768.24;1184.24;1442.5;2445.25]), breut (dat. pl. 'Braut'), heut (dat. sg. 'Haut'), leut 'läutet,' ungeheut 'ungehäutet.'

ît : öüt 56 (ît:öüt [47]; ît [< ibet, iget]:öüt [9]) gebene-deit, vermaledeit, gescheit, seid, seit, streit, weit, zeit; geit 'gibt,' leit 'liegt'; these with f rhyme with freud 'Freude' and streut (pres. 'streuen'), with öü. gewelet 'ge-weint' : erfreuet 'erfreut' (721.34).

ît : êt 1 zeit : Gret 'Gretchen' (3101.38).

eit : iut 45 (eit:iut [42]; eit [< egit, aget]:iut [3]) beid 'beide,' -heit, -keit, kleid, bekleidt 'bekleidet,' leid, scheid, bescheid; gejeit 'Gejagd,' meit 'Magd'; these with ei rhyme with the following with iu: gebeut 'gebiete,' gedeut 'gedeutet,' heut, leut 'Leute,' gereut (part. 'reuen'), ausge-reut 'ausgezogen,' scheut (pres. 'scheuen').

eit : ût 6 -heit, -keit, leid, with ei, rhyme with beut 'Beute,' with û (488.30;749.31;911.9;1252.1;1584.21;2294.5).

eit : öüt 50 (eit:öüt [48]; eit [< aget]:öüt [2]) arbeit, beid 'beide,' eid, -heit, -keit, kleid, leid, geleit, bereit; meit 'Magd' (793.1;2508.34); these words with ei rhyme with freud, with öü.

iut : ût 11 bleut 'schlägt,' bedeut, heut 'heute,' leut 'Leute,' gespeut 'gespeit,' with iu, rhyme with beut 'Beute,' heut (obl. cases 'Haut'), ungeheut 'ungehäutet,' leut 'läute,' with û.

iut : öüt 17 bedeut, heut 'heute,' leut 'Leute,' gereut (part. 'reuen'), with iu, rhyme with freud and erfreud, with öü.

ît : ît : iut 2 allzeit (î) : leit 'liegt' (î) : heut 'heute' (iu)(354.22): zeit (î) : schalckheit (ei) : leut 'Leute' (iu) (3076.9).

ît : eit : öüt 2 zeit (î) : einigkeit (ei) : freud (öü)(513.2); gebenedeit (î) : ewigkeit (ei) : freud (öü)(1011.2).

ît : eit : ût 1 zeit (î) : schwachheit (ei) : heut 'Haute' (û) (2144.7).

îter : îter 3 (=MHG d; t) beider (=bei dir), schleiter 'Schlitten' (to MHG sliten 'gleiten'), schneider, weiter (526.5;825.13;2781.15).

eider : eider 14 beider 'beider,' kleider, leider.

îter : eiter 5 neider 'wer neidet,' schneider, seiter (=seit her), with f, rhyme with leider, kleider, with ei.

- fter : üter 2 gescheiter, seiter 'seit her,' with f, rhyme with kreuter (pl. 'Kraut') (û) (3087.35; 3091.8).
- ftern : ütern 1 scheidern (dat. pl. MHG schît 'Stück gespaltenen Holzes; Scheit') : kreutern (dat. pl.) (û) (503.27).
- ften : îten 51 (=MHG d; t) (t:t [45]; t:d [6]; 633.5; 1156.9; 2470.20; 2559.25; 2856.10; 3090.27) beiten 'warten,' meiden, reiten, schneiden, seiden 'Seide,' seiten, streiten, weiten (von weiten), zeiten.
- eiten : eiten 57;1 (=MHG d; t) (eit:eit [54]; eit:eit [< egit] [3]) arbeiten, beiden, eiden (pl. 'Eid'), eiden 'Eidam,' heiden (pl. 'der Heide'), kleiden, leiden, beleiten 'begleiten,' meiten (pl. 'Magd'; 2299.15; 2392.2; 2831.18), bereiten, scheiden, weiden. Triple rhyme: meiten (pl. 'Magd') : be-reiten : beiden (2297.13).
- iuten : iuten 17 deuten, leuten (dat. pl. 'Leute'), reuten 'ausreuten.'
- ûten : ûten 1 beuten 'nach Beute gehen' : leuten 'läuten' (2463.28).
- îten : eiten 73;1 (=MHG îd, ît; eid, eit) (ît:eit [13]; ît:eid [37]; îd:eit [23]) kreiden, meiden, neiden, reiten, scheiten (pl. 'Stück gespaltenen Holzes'), schneiden (pl. 'Schwert'; vb. 'schneiden'), seiten, streiten, weiten, zeiten. These words with f rhyme with the following with ei: arbeiten, beiden, beiten 'zögern,' heiden, -heiten, kleiden, leiden, beleiden 'begleiten,' scheiden 'Scheide des Schwertes; scheiden,' verscheiden (part. MHG verscheiden). Triple rhyme: meiden (f) : leiden (ei) : scheiden (ei) (1116.19).
- îten : iuten 32 (=MHG îd, ît; iut) (îd:iut [4]; ît:iut [28]) meiden, reiten, schneiden, seiten, streiten, erweiten 'erweitern,' zeiten; these words with f rhyme with the following with iu: deuten, leuten (dat. 'Leute').
- îten : ûten 1 seiten (f) : beuten 'nach Beute gehen' (û) (451.33).
- îten : öüten 6 (=MHG îd, ît; öüd) (îd:öüd [1]; ît:öüt [5]) meiden, reiten, seiten, zeiten, with f, rhyme with freuden, with öü.
- eiten : iuten 11 (=MHG eid, eit; iut) (eit:iut [1]; eid:iut [10]) beiden, leiden, bereiten, scheiden, with ei, rhyme with deuten and leuten 'Leute,' with iu.
- eiten : ûten 1 scheiden (ei) : leuten 'läuten' (û) (2351.33).
- eiten : öüten 13 heiden, kleiden, leiden, beleiten 'begleiten,'

scheiden, with ei, rhyme with freuden, with öü.

luten : ûten 6 deuten, with iu, rhyme with leuten 'läuten,' with û.

luten : öuten 1 bedeuten (iu) : freuden (öü)(2241.15).

fts : fts 1 ehргеitz (to MHG gît+s 'Geiz') : streits (gen. 'Streit')(154.1).

eits : eits 2 eids (gen. 'Eid'), herzenleids (gen. 'Herzenleid'), bescheids (gen.)(636.10;1537.20).

fts : ûts 4 beseits 'beiseite,' gewissensstreits, with -fts, rhyme with kreutz 'Kreuz,' with -ûz (263.10;1350.20;2474.28;3230.9).

eits : ûts 1 herzenleids (ei) : kreutz (û)(3247.5).

iuts : ûts 2 bedeuts 'bedeute es,' scheutz (MHG schiuз 'Grausen, Scheusal'), with iu, rhyme with kreutz, with û (494.5;1526.5).

iutsen : ûtsen 1 scheutzen 'Abscheu empfinden' (iu) : scheutzen 'schneuzen' (û)(3350.35).

eidig : eidig 2 (=MHG eidig, egidig) beleidig 'beleidige' : verteidig (to MHG vertēgidigen 'verteidigen')(712.27;1993.27).

eidigen : eidigen 5 (=MHG eidigen, egidigen) beleidigen : beteidigen, verteidigen (ei<egi)(344.36;713.30;922.7;1088.17;2972.19).

eitlich : iutlich 1 unleidlich : deutlich (2557.22).

eig : eig 1 feig 'feige' : neig 'neige' (3214.5).

iug : iug 2 bezeug 'bezeuge,' leug 'lüge,' zeug 'Zeuge' (494.19;1321.2).

igen : igen 10 feigen (pl. 'Feige' [Frucht]), geigen (dat. sg. 'Geige'; vb. 'geigen'), geschweigen (inf. MHG geswigen), schweigen, versteigen.

eigen : eigen 25 eigen 'leibeigen,' neigen, zeigen.

igen : eigen 20 geigen, schweigen, geschweigen, with i, rhyme with zeigen, with ei.

igen : iugen 1 schweigen (f) : überzeugen (iu)(1491.6).

eigen : iugen 3 eigen 'hörig' (ei) : bezeugen, überzeugen (iu) (494.26;1776.7;2026.22).

eigen : ûgen 2 neigen, erzeigen, with ei, rhyme with seugen 'säugen,' with û (1412.14;1704.32).

eigen : öügen 2 anzeigen (ei) : ereugen (MHG eröügen 'vor Augen stellen'; cf. Paul, II, § 89)(984.10;1758.19).

eigt : eigt 9 neigt, geneigt, erzeigt. zueiget 'zueignet,' neiget, erzeiget (845.17;1547.31;3287.29).

igt : eigt 2 geigt (pres. 'geigen'), schweigt, with i, rhyme with erzeigt, with ei (2813.15;3091.18).

igt : iugt 1 schweigt (i) : gezeugt (part. 'zeugen')(3341.1).

eigt : igt 1 erzeigt (ei) : geseugt (part. 'säugen')(62.8).

ich : ich 195;3 (=MHG h, ch, g) (ch:ch [184]; ch:h [1]; ch:g [10]) geig (pres. 'geigen'; 2834.13), gleich (dergleich, zugleich), leich 'Leiche,' -leich (ewigleich, seuberleich, fleissigleich), reich 'Reich; reich,' -reich (fischreich, him-melreich, königreich, siegreich, steinreich, tugendreich), schweig (sg. imperative; 28.18;214.32;275.17;284.18;317.25; 1518.4;2269.33;2704.24), steig 'steige' (2361.3), verleich 'verleihe' (1853.27), weich 'weiche aus'; Frankreich, Oster-reich. reiche 'Reich' : weiche 'weiche aus' (3383.34). Triple rhymes: 830.30;3044.2;3075.2.

eich : eich 2 (=MHG ch, g) streich 'Streich' : weich (adj.) (895.15); weich (adj.) : teig 'Teig' (2467.13).

iuch : iuch 14 (=MHG h, ch, g) euch, fleuch 'fliehe,' scheuch 'Scheu' (59.18;88.32;109.28;661.7;1273.21;2366.13;2428.26; 2551.11;3282.23), zeug 'Zeug' (656.27;2893.6;2894.9), verzeuch 'verzögre' (370.30).

ich : eich 6 gleich, reich; Frankreich; these with i rhyme with the following with ei: streich 'Streich' (256.20;2307.28), weich (adj.) (568.6), zeig 'zeige' (944.29;2377.4).

ich : iuch 171;2 (=MHG ich, ig; iuch, iuh, iug) gleich, leich, -leich, reich, -reich, schweig (2155.3;2845.26;3275.5), streich 'schlage' (3347.25), weich 'weiche aus'; these words with i rhyme with the following with iu: euch, kreuch (pres. MHG kriechen; 2455.8), scheuch 'Scheu' (818.24;1551.2;3181.34), vogelscheuch (2708.4), zeug 'Zeug' (560.3;574.12;1867.3; 2892.35;3300.4), bezeug 'bezeuge' (680.11), verzeuch 'entferne' (to MHG verziehen; 2484.18). Triple rhymes: reich (i) : schweig (i) : zeuch 'ziehe' (iu) (3040.19); reich (i) : euch (iu) : zeuch (iu) (3064.1).

eich : iuch 2 handreich 'Almosen,' streich 'Hieb,' both with ei, rhyme with euch, with iu (847.2;1003.32).

ichen : ichen 50;1 (=MHG ch, g) (ch:ch [49]; ch:g [1]) gleichen vergleichen, reichen (adj.), schleichen, schweigen (2861.17), streichen 'streifen; schlagen,' weichen 'ausweichen.' Triple rhyme: entweichen : streichen 'entfernen' : gleichen (2158.21).

eichen : eichen 12 (=MHG ch, g) (ch:ch [11]; ch:g [1]) reichen

'erreichen,' weichen 'weich machen,' zeigen (529.27), zeichen 'Zeichen.'

fichen : eichen 14 gleichen, keichen (MHG kiche 'Gefängnis'), schleichen, blindschleichen (pl. 'Blindschleiche'), streichen, weichen 'ausweichen'; these words with f rhyme with the following with ei: reichen 'ausreichen,' weichen 'weich machen,' zeichen.

icht : icht 6 beicht 'Beichte; gebeichtet,' leicht, erleicht 'erleichtert,' schleicht, streicht, verzeicht 'verzeiht' (799.26;941.37;1747.13;2422.5;2987.28;3038.2).

iucht : iucht 6 fleucht 'flieht,' kreucht 'kriecht,' scheucht 'scheut,' zeucht 'zieht' (136.4;1728.33;1793.20;1998.32;2168.9;2192.24).

icht : eicht 2 beicht 'gebeichtet,' villeicht, with f, rhyme with beseicht (part. to MHG beseichen 'bepissen'), geweicht 'weich gemacht,' with ei (675.23;2992.6).

icht : iucht 5 beicht 'Beichte,' leicht, with f, rhyme with the following with iu: kreicht, zeucht, verzeucht 'verzieht' (1465.35;2068.16;2399.19;3098.13).

icht : ûcht 4 leicht, verleicht 'verleiht,' villeicht, with f, rhyme with deucht and gedeucht (part. 'dünken'), with û (570.30;2779.29;2812.7;3332.33).

eicht : ûcht 1 geweicht 'weich gemacht' (ei) : gedeucht (û) (2866.35).

iucht : ûcht 1 leucht 'leuchte' (iu) : deucht (û) (2347.17).

ichten : ichten 3 beichten, erleichten 'erleichtern' (1595.5;1722.13;2987.22).

iuchten : ûchten 1 leuchten 'leuchten' (iu) : feuchten 'feucht machen' (û) (2462.2).

ichten : iuchten 2 beichten (f) : durchleuchten (abstraction: Durchläuchten) and erleuchten, both with iu (1354.23;3094.1).

ichst : iuchst 1 allerreichst 'allerreichste' (f) : scheuchst 'scheust' (iu) (2477.26).

is : is 50;1 (=MHG s, z) (s:s [18]; z:z [5]; s:z [27]) eis 'Eis,' fleiss, befleiss, leis 'leise,' paradeis, preis 'Preis, Ruhm; preise,' zerreiss, speis 'Speise,' weis 'Weise; weise, erweise,' weiss (adj.). Triple rhyme: weis : fleiss : preis (1813.15).

eis : eis 62 (=MHG s, z) (s:s [1]; z:z [37]; s:z [24]) geiss 'liedliches Weib' (to MHG gelze 'Ziege'), heiss (adj. 'heiss';

vb. 'heisse'), geheiss 'Befehl,' kreiss 'Umkreis, Kreis,' reis 'Reise,' otterngeschmeiss 'Otterbrut' (to MHG gesmeiße 'Unrat; Brut' [819.1]), schweiss, weis 'Waise' (803.25), weiss (pres. 'wissen').

ûs : ûs 2 leus 'Läuse' : meus 'Mäuse' (538.30); geheus (coll. to MHG hûs 'Haus') : meus 'Mäuse' (628.1).

fs : eis 45;1 (=MHG îs, îz; eis, eiẏ) (is:eis [4]; îz:eiẏ [18]; is:eiẏ [21]; îz:eis [2]) eis, fleiss, paradeis, preis 'Ruhm,' speis, weis 'Weise; weise'; these with f rhyme with the following with ei: heiss (adj.; vb. 'heisse'), geheiss, schultheiss (MHG schultheiẏe 'Richter'; BR69.5), plateiss (MHG blateiẏe 'Plattfische, Scholle'; cf. DWb; Lexer), reis 'Reise,' schweiss, weiss (pres. 'wissen'). weise : heisse (3082.35). fleiss : heisst (1872.10). Triple rhyme: paradeis (is) : fleiss (îz) : weiss 'ich weiss' (eiẏ) (3073.13).

fs : ius 1 fleiss (îz) : neuss 'Neues' (iu[we]ẏ) (865.20).

fs : ûs 2 fleiss (îz), beiss 'beisse' (îz) : leus 'Läuse,' meus 'Mäuse,' with ûs (317.10; 407.20).

eis : ius 2 weiss 'ich weiss' (eiẏ) : neus 'Neues,' beschleuss 'beschliesse,' with iuz (732.20; 1114.25).

eis : ûs 2 heiss 'heisse,' weiss 'ich weiss,' with eiẏ, rhyme with leus and meus, with ûs (539.8; 2066.4).

fiser : fiser 1 landsbescheisser (îz) : possenreisser 'Possenmacher' (to MHG riẏen 'reissen') (3150.37).

eiser : eiser 7 (=MHG s, ẏ) keiser (s), durchreiser 'ein Durchreisender' (s), heisser (comparative 'heiss'; 'Befehler'), verheisser 'Versprecher' (ẏ).

ûser : ûser 2 cartheuser, wirtsheuser, dockmeuser (to MHG tockelmûser 'Schleicher'; cf. Götze) (548.10; 3169.18).

fiser : eiser 1 weiser (comparative 'weis') (f) : keiser 'Kaiser' (ei) (642.11).

fiser : ûser 2 bescheisser, possenreisser 'Possenmacher,' with îz, rhyme with cartheuser, dochmeuser with ûs (1312.27; 3238.8).

isen : isen 100 (=MHG s, ẏ) (s:s [9]; ẏ:ẏ [20]; s:ẏ [71]) beissen, eisen, Eisen (a city: 2243.12; 2248.12), befleissen Meissen (the city [BR43.4]), preisen, reissen 'reissen; anstellen; ritzen, zeichnen,' bescheissen, schleissen 'gespaltenes Holz' (3328.31), speisen, weisen (adj.; vb. 'deuten').

eisen : eisen 3 (=MHG s, ẏ) heissen, reisen 'Reise machen,' weisen (pl. 'Waise') (1327.4; 2009.9; 2673.27); heissen : Meissen

(city)(BR46.2;BR55.7).

isen : eisen 75 (=MHG is, iz; eis, eiz) (is:eis [4]; iz:eiz [21]; is:eiz [48]; iz:eis [2]) beissen, eisen, befleissen, preissen, reissen, bescheissen, schmeissen, speissen, weisen (adj.; vb. 'deuten') and Meissen (the city [BR46.2;BR55.7]); these words with i rhyme with the following with ei: beissen (dat. pl. MHG beize 'Falkenjagd'; 997.13), heissen, reisen, weisen (pl. 'Waise'; 892.16;2950.24).

ist : ist 21 verdreist (adv.), befleisst, ausgeist 'gibst aus' (2624.7), preist, reisst, scheist, schreist, seist, gespeist, weist 'zeigt, unterrichtet.'

eist : eist 31 beisst (part. to MHG beizen 'beizen; mürbe machen'), feisst 'feist, fertig,' geist 'Geist,' heisst, leist 'leistet,' reist, weisst 'du weisst.'

ist : eist 42;2 beisst, preist, reisst (to 'reissen'), schreist, seist, weist (to 'weisen'); these words with i rhyme with the following with ei: feisst 'feist,' krebsfeisst 'Krebsfett,' geist, heisst, gereist, weisst (to 'wissen'). Triple rhymes: seist (i) : heisst (ei) : geist 'gibst' (i)(3120.31); seist (i) : angeist 'gibst an' (i) : weisst 'du weisst' (ei)(3349.23).

ist : iust 2 fleisst 'macht sich fleissig,' zerreisst, with i, rhyme with abscheust, beschleust 'beschliesst,' with iu (432.31;527.5).

eister : eister 1 hofmeister (s) : feisster (z)(2535.5).

isten : isten 2 feisten 'einen Bauchwind gehen lassen' (cf. Götze; to MHG visten) : kreisten 'schreiend rufen' (to MHG kristen 'stöhnen, ächzen') (2704.12;3093.13).

eisten : eisten 2 leisten : meisten (once written meinstn) (208.4;1586.21).

isig : isig 4 fleissig : dreissig (686.1;BR46.18;BR69.23;BR83.12) (with MHG z).

isigst : isigst 1 dreissigst : fleissigst (3211.32).

isung : eisung 1 anweisung : verheissung (1977.28).

if : if 3 angreif 'greife an,' greif, reif 'gefrorenner Tau,' steif 'steif' (2171.8;2745.21;2811.13).

ifer : ifer 1 pfeifer (i) : weinseufer (û)(3341.16).

ifers : eifers 1 sackpfeifers (i) : schleifers (283.5).

ifel : iufel 33 (=MHG v) feifel (MHG fivel 'Drüsenkrankheit der Pferde' [1646.27;2097.25;2882.23]), zweifel; these two words with i rhyme with teufel (MHG tiuvel).

ifeln : iueln 1 zweifeln (f) : teufeln (pl. 'Teufel')(iu)
(671.25).

ifen : ifen 16 greifen (to MHG grifen 'begreifen'; this MHG word with f fell together in meaning with MHG greifen 'antasten'; cf. DWb), pfeifen, sackpfeifen.

öufen : öufen 6 keufen (mutated form of MHG koufen 'kaufen'), leufen (mutated form of MHG loufen 'laufen'), schleufen (mutated form of MHG sloufen 'schlüpfen,' not to MHG slEIFen 'schlepfen'; cf. Paul, II, § 89), reufen 'plündern' (cf. Götze; mutated form of MHG roufen 'raufen, reißen'), streufen (mutated form of MHG stroufen 'streifen, ziehen'; cf. Paul, II, § 89). All these words are written with ei or ai (122.18; 532.14; 766.3; 770.22; 807.16; 3342.31).

§ 7 au-sounds (=MHG ou, û; also âw and au)

ou : ou 28 (=MHG ouwe) au 'Aue,' frau, genau, hau 'haue,' hau (MHG houwe 'Heu,' not MHG höuwe; cf. Götze), schau, strau (MHG strouwe 'Stroh,' not MHG strô; cf. Götze); Hannau, Lit-tau, Portenau, Schweinau, Trockau, Wetterau, Wiltau.

ou : û 37 (=MHG ouwe; ûwe, ûch, û) frau, genau, schau, with ouwe, rhyme 29 times with the following with û: sau 'Sau,' trau 'traue.' frau rhymes 3 times with bau (with ûw) (77.11; 770.20; 1770.9). frau rhymes with rau (MHG rûch 'rauh') (2797.23). frau rhymes 2 times with trau 'Treue' (MG trûwe; cf. Götze) (18.30; 791.28).

ouwen : ouwen 123 auen, frauen, hauen, krauen 'kratzen,' schauen.

ûwen : ûwen 22 bauen, grauen 'Grauen; Grauen machen,' trauen.

ouwen : ûwen 271;1 auen, frauen, hauen, schauen, with ouw, rhyme with the following with ûw: bauen, grauen, trauen.
Triple rhyme: trauen (û) : frauen (ou) : schauen (ou)
(2231.11).

ouwen : âwen 3 frauen, hauen, with ouw, rhyme with grauen (adj. 'grau'; vb. 'grau werden'; with âw) (1341.9; 1660.27; 2755.13).

ûr : ûr 19 baur 'Bauer,' laur 'hinterlistiger Mensch,' saur 'sauer,' schaur (MHG schûr 'Schutz, Schirm, Dach'), schaur (MHG schûr 'Ungewitter; Verderben'), traur 'traure.'

ûrn : ûrn 37 baurn, daurn 'dauern,' lauru 'lauern,' maurn (dat. pl. 'Mauer'; vb. 'vermauern'), traurn 'trauern.'

ûl : ûl 9 faul, gaul, maul.

oum : oum 1 baum : traum (2211.14).

ûm : ûm 1 kaum : versaum 'versäume' (2337.23).

oum : ûm 12 baum, traum, with ou, rhyme with kaum, raum, with û. traume (pl. 'Traum') : versaume 'versäume' (3030.1).

ûmen : ûmen 4 raumen 'Raum machen,' saumen 'säumen' (1225.34; 2512.23; 2829.28; 3089.37).

oumen : ûmen 5 baumen, traumen, with ou, rhyme with pflaumen, raumen 'Raum machen,' saumen, with û (742.31; 2485.10; 2628.17; 2953.32; 2963.1).

oumet : ûmet 1 traumet 'träumt' : versaumet 'versäumt' (3151.13).

ûn : ûn 2 laun 'Laune' : presau (MHG prisûn 'Gefängnis') (2854.1; 2855.19).

ûntsen : ûntsen 1 rauntzen 'wie eine Katze schreien' (OHG rûnazôn) : mauntzen 'wie eine Katze schreien' (not in DWb) (3104.2).

oub : oub 4 erlaub, glaub, raub, staub (90.27; 1049.32; 2178.25; 2182.1).

ouber : ûber 3 rauber (ou) : sauber (û) (1525.23; 2843.23; 2966.27).

oubern : ûbern 2 raubern (dat. pl.) : saubern (dat. pl. adj. 'sauber'; vb. 'säubern') (1254.7; 1822.36).

ouben : ouben 22 erlauben, glauben, rauben, tauben 'taub machen.'

ûben : ûben 14 hauben, klauben 'pflücken, rauben,' schauben 'langes und weites Unterkleid,' tauben 'Tauben; närrische Streiche,' trauben.

ouben : ûben 11 glauben, rauben, with ou, rhyme with hauben, klauben, schauben.

oubt : oubt 46 glaubt, haupt, raubt, taubt 'taub gemacht, vernichtet.'

oubt : ûbt 1 haupt : klaubt 'raubt, stiehlt' (197.15).

ût : ût 44 baut (pres. 'bauen'), braut, haut 'Haut,' kraut 'Kraut,' traut, vertraut; Gertraut (BR42.12).

out : ût 17 schauf (ou) : baut, haut (û). hinschauet (ou) : erbauet (û) (1770.3).

ûden : ûden 2 schnauden 'schnarchen, schnaufen' : stauden (acc. sg. and pl. 'Staude, Busch') (1288.21; 2099.25).

ougen : ougen 24 augen, laugen 'leugnen; verneinen,' saugen (wk. vb. 'säugen'), taugen.

- ouch : ouch 7 (=MHG ch, g) auch, aug (1943.13;2806.9), gauch 'Gauch,' rauch, taug (2874.25).
- ûch : ûch 7 bauch, brauch, rauch 'rauh' (173.30;562.16), schlauch, strauch 'stosse' (cf. DWb; Paul, II, § 92)(2647.4).
- ouch : ûch 29 (=MHG ouch, oug) auch, aug (1216;2452.9), taug (2124.22), with ou, rhyme with the following with û: bauch, brauch, rauch 'rauh' (1986.18;3181.26).
- ûchen : ûchen 4 brauchen, schlauchen 'versaufen,' stauchen 'stossen' (151.4;1081.32;2708.28;3091.15).
- oucht : ûcht 1 (=MHG ougt) taugt (written daucht; with ou) : braucht (with û)(3401.1).
- ûs : ûs 845;14 (=MHG s, z) (s:s [18]; z:z [226]; s:z [602]) aus and -aus compounds, daus (MHG dûs, tûs 'die zwei auf Spielkarten und Würfeln; Trumpfkarte'), graus 'Grausen; grausam,' haus, kraus, laus, maus, paus 'Pause,' saus 'Sausen,' strauss. hausa : ausse, strausse (3052.3;3086.34;3087.13). One triple rhyme: auss : faust 'Faust' (with û) : haus (3113.37).
- ûs : aus 6 auss, and haus rhyme with Boleslaus and Nicolaus.
- ûsen : ûsen 14 grausen, hausen, klausen 'Wohnung,' lausen 'läusen,' sausen; these words with ûs rhyme together 4 times and with draussen, with ûz, 9 times.
- ûst : ûst 5 (=MHG ûst, ûwst) graut, haust, laust 'läust,' zersaust, with ûst (749.27;780.11;3055.14); baust 'du baust' : traust 'du traust' (both words with ûwst)(78.18); tauset 'tausend' : grauset 'graut' (1792.11).
- ûsch : ûsch 2 lausch 'lausche,' rausch, tausch (2531.14;3242.19).
- ûschen : ûschen 2 lauschen, rauschen, tauschen (1032.20;1525.19).
- ouf : ouf 2 kauf, lauf, tauf (2631.17;3320.29).
- ûf : ûf 51;2 auf and compounds in -auf, hauf 'Haufe,' sauf, schnauf. Triple rhymes: 609.30;3194.20.
- ouf : ûf 35;2 kauf, lauf, rauf, tauf, with ou, rhyme with the following with û: auf (-auf), sauf. Triple rhymes: 2611.13; 3117.26.
- ouf : ab See under a.
- oufen : oufen 46 kaufen, laufen, raufen, taufen.
- ûfen : ûfen 2 haufen, saufen, schnaufen (520.10;2623.32).
- oufen : ûfen 38 kaufen, laufen, taufen, with ou, rhyme with the following with û: haufen, saufen, schnaufen. ? kaufen : haupen 'Haufen' (556.4).¹²

¹²This rhyme occurs in the speech of a character who hails

ouft : ouft 6;1 kauft, lauft, rauft, tauft. Triple rhyme:
kauft : grauft (part. 'raufen') : lauft (3123.35).
ouft : ûft 2 lauft (ou) : schnauft (û) (2500.16;3320.1).

from Low German territory (somewhere near Aachen); he is addressing someone from High German territory. The rhyme, unquestionably, is the garbled result of his attempt to use a High German word once in awhile; it would be quite acceptable in Low German: kôpen : hôpen.

PART II: AYRER'S PHONOLOGY

A. VOCALISM

1. Qualitative Considerations

a. Vowels

§ 1 a-sounds (=MHG â, a; ę, ei): 10,559;80 rhymes¹

1. Table of rhymes:

	<u>â</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>ę</u>	<u>ei</u>
<u>â</u>	1375;7*	2509;30*	...	...
<u>a</u>	2509;30*	6671;43*	2	2

* Not included are rhymes of MHG â(a) : â(a) before -m, -n, -nn; for these cf. below under o-sounds, § 4.

2. According to his rhymes, MHG â and a, except before -m, -n, -nn, MHG ę in brôs(ę)me(n), MHG ei in meister and zeichen (one occurrence for each) are the same sound for Ayrer. The evidence assembled below demonstrates that the qualitative nature of this sound is the monophthong a.

3. MHG â and a are the same qualitative a-sound in the rhymes of Muskatblüt (cf. Puls, pp. 1-4) and in the Pegnitz poets (cf. Neumann, p. 145). They are likewise the same sound in Sachs with the exception of dâ and wâ, MHG â and a before nasal where they are always o, before guttural and dental where they are for the most part o (cf. Sommer, pp. 51-52; Frommann, pp. 20, 25-26; Bahder, p. 35). Fischart rhymes MHG â with a (cf. Krell, § 31).²

¹That is, 10,559 couplets and 80 triple rhymes.

²Since Fischart's dialect has ō and o for MHG â and a respectively, Krell concludes (§§ 1, 11) that Fischart rhymes MHG â(a) : â(a) as open o-sounds (= o). But this fails to take into consideration literary tradition, where MHG â(a) : â(a) rhyme with a-pronunciation, despite any dialect change.

Dürer always writes a for MHG a, even before nasal; he writes a and frequently o for MHG â (cf. Hartmann, §§ 31.1, 32, 40). Magdalena writes a for MHG â and a except before nasal when she usually writes o (cf. Koch, §§ 1, 11). Paumgartner, on the other hand, always writes a for MHG â and a except in wo (MHG wâ), om 'Ohm' (MHG âme), ohne (MHG âne), gethon (MHG getân), etc. (cf. Koch, §§ 1, 11).

o for MHG a appears often in fourteenth and fifteenth century Nürnberg and East Franconian MSS and printed texts. It occurs not infrequently in Nürnberg rhymes well into the middle of the sixteenth century, especially before nasal (cf. Moser, § 69).

4. a. In B, with the exception of NB, in EFr and in MG in MHG times MHG â > ô (= open o) which in these dialects during ENHG times had fallen together with original ô (= closed o) for the most part only before nasal (cf. Moser, § 75.2; cf. also § 69, note 1). In Swab ca. 1250 MHG â > au, later, ca. the fifteenth century, except before nasal, > ô (cf. Moser, § 75.3). In NB and Nb during the fourteenth to fifteenth century MHG â > ô, later (towards the end of the fifteenth century ?), > ou or au (cf. Moser, § 75.3).

b. In B by the end of the twelfth century MHG a > o (cf. Moser, § 69). For the most part in Nb, EFr, MG by the end of the twelfth century MHG a remained a except when influenced by leveling within the paradigm in which case it became ô; when lengthened, MHG a > ô (cf. Moser, § 69; Weinhold, § 22; Kehrein, I, § 63).

5. a. In present BayFr and in BS MHG â > ô, sometimes > ou (cf. Schübel, § 10.4a). In present Bg MHG â > ô or a³ depending on the word (cf. Batz, § 65.1.2). In present Nb and southern UP MHG â > au (cf. Gebhardt, § 65.1; Schübel, §§ 10.4a, 11.3). In Nb MHG â when shortened > a; before nasal MHG > ô, when shortened, > o (cf. Gebhardt, § 65.1.2). In BgFr MHG â > ou (cf. Schübel, § 11.3).

b. In present Nb MHG a remained, when lengthened > ô; before r > äo, when lengthened > äö; before ch > a, when lengthened > ä (cf. Gebhardt, § 54). In Bg MHG a remained a in closed syllable and in words with more than one syllable; in monosyllabic

³ a, which corresponds to Batz' â and Gebhardt's a, is an over open a-sound like regular a but differs from it in that a is articulated on the hard gums while a is articulated on the soft gums. Cf. Batz, § 16 and Gebhardt, § 24.

words it became a; when lengthened it became ō or ā (cf. Batz, §§ 43.1.2, 44). In BgFr MHG a when lengthened > ou; in BS MHG a when lengthened > au (cf. Schübel, §§ 9.7, 11.3).

6. It is evident from the above that Ayrer rhymes MHG â(a) : â(a), except before -m, -n, -nn, as an a-sound in the tradition of the Nb literary language. This rhyme is impossible as a pure rhyme (with a-sound) in the pertinent dialects of Ayrer's time (MHG â > ō, ō, ou, au; MHG a had undergone similar changes). In the modern Bg dialect MHG â and a could rhyme under certain conditions as a pure ō-sound; it could not rhyme as a pure rhyme in Nb (MHG â > au or a; MHG a > a or ō). The rhyme MHG â(a) : â(a), with a-sound, obviously does not have its basis in any of the dialects of the ENHG period. It is, for Ayrer and for the Nb literary language of his time, purely a literary rhyme, one which has its origin in MHG.

7. Special considerations:

a. a < MHG ē.

Ayrer rhymes MHG brôs(ē)me(n)⁴ with zesamen twice as an a-sound. This change of MHG ē to a is due to a shift from MHG unstressed to ModGer stressed articulation.⁵ It is, hence, analogous to the change in the MHG endings -bâer > -bār (Urbar), -sal > -sāl (Trübsal), -sam > -sām (genugsam) (cf. Kluge; Paul, II, § 31 [Vol. I, p. 162]). Popular etymology (brôsam = brô[t]+sâme) may have been a contributing factor in the change of MHG unstressed short ē to ModGer stressed long a in this particular word. The change of MHG ē to an a-sound in brôsem is apparently LMHG (cf. DWb); it is analogous to the change eidam < eidem (cf. Bahder Wortwahl, pp. 31-33 and p. 33, note 1). a-forms (brosam, brosame) occur throughout the ENHG period (e.g., in Luther) beside the older brosmen (cf. DWb). In the pertinent modern dialects MHG brôs(ē)me has the following forms: in Nb, brqusn (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 92.2, 132.1c, 147.3, 256, 274; cf. also § 24); in Bg, brōsn (cf. Batz, § 161.3; cf. also § 16); in Swab, brôsəm (with closed

⁴For MHG ô instead of o in brôsem cf. Kluge and the evidence from the dialects (cf. below). Gebhardt (§ 92.2) calls attention to the fact that up to his time (1907) the word in question was attested in the dictionaries only with short o.

⁵Ayrer once rhymes MHG brôsem (with MHG lâzen) as an o-sound, that is, with old unstressed second syllable; cf. o-sounds, § 4.

o; cf. Fischer SWb); in B, brou·n, brou·m (cf. Schmeller BWb). Ayrrer's brosamen, hence, is purely a literary form.

b. a < MHG ei.

Ayrrer rhymes MHG meister (: laster) and zeichen (: machen) once each as a-sounds. Magdalena writes a for MHG ei in three instances: am(er) = MHG eimer, amerchen, Wablingerin 'Weiblingerin' (cf. Koch, § 24). a for MHG ei occurs rather often in other, even earlier, Nürnberg prose documents (cf. Koch, loc. cit.). The rhyme ei : a also occurs well into the seventeenth century in the works of the Nürnberg poets (cf. Moser, § 79.II.2).

In eastern and southern EFr and in Nb in the fourteenth century MHG ei > ā (cf. Moser, § 79.II.2); elsewhere MHG ei > ē or remained a diphthong (cf. Moser, §§ 79.I.1-3, II.1.2; cf. also below under ai-sounds, § 6). In present Nb MHG ei > ā, when shortened > a (cf. Gebhardt, § 81). Attested for Nb by Gebhardt are tsax̄ and tsain; the former is the older form and is dying out; the latter is the newer form, due, no doubt, to influence of the literary language (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 81.1b, 103.5 [p. 331], 132.1c, 160 note 2, 194.2, 219.1 and "Nachtrag," p. 340). For MHG meister Nb has mast̄ beside māst̄ (cf. Gebhardt, § 132.2a). In Nb MHG machen appears as max̄ (Gebhardt, §§ 91, 160). MHG laster is not attested for Nb.⁶ In present Bg MHG ei > ā, when shortened > a (Batz, § 81.1.2; cf. also Schübel, § 9). Bg has masd̄ (MHG meister) and dsain (MHG zeichen) (cf. Batz, § 81.1.5). The latter form is due to influence of the literary language. MHG laster is not attested for Bg; it has max̄ for MHG machen (Batz, § 43.1).

MHG zeichen : machen and meister : laster hence, seem to be pure a : a rhymes for Ayrrer. The ENHG dialectal basis for this is Nb and eastern and southern EFr, specifically Bg.

§ 2 e-sounds (=MHG āe, ä, ë, ê, ôe, ē, ö; ü, üe, i): 10,145;81;1 rhymes⁷

1. Table of rhymes:

⁶However, if the Nb people today were to use the word laster they would, no doubt, pronounce it with short a (through the influence of the literary language) just as Nb's mast (for MHG mast) has short a, due to the influence of ModGer (cf. Gebhardt, § 130, note 1), instead of long a, which would be regular for Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 130.1):

⁷That is, 10,145 couplets, 81 triple rhymes, and 1 quat-

	<u>âe</u>	<u>ä</u>	<u>ë</u>	1
<u>âe</u>	223;2	19	862;17	...
<u>ä</u>	19	18	170	...
<u>ë</u>	862;17	170	4112;23	56

I = 5404;42
 (= 53.98%)
 =(5460;42 with
ë : i incl.)

	<u>ê</u>	<u>ôe</u>	<u>ę</u>	<u>ö</u>	<u>ü</u>	1	<u>üe</u>
<u>ê</u>	1039;8	236;5	483;6	7	14	...	...
<u>ôe</u>	236;5	132	80	11	6	...	7
<u>ę</u>	483;6	80	1715;15;1	117;1	9	71	...
<u>ö</u>	7	11	117;1	6	...	...	...

II = 3926;35;1
 (= 39.22%)
 =(4005;35;1 with
ę : i, ôe : üe
 Incl.)

	<u>ê</u>	<u>ôe</u>	<u>ę</u>	<u>ö</u>
<u>âe</u>	83;1	4	13	...
<u>ä</u>	...	...	22	2
<u>ë</u>	161;1	8	387;2	...

III = 680;4 (= 6.79%)

2. It is evident from the above table that Ayrrer, on the whole, seems to know a distinction between MHG âe, ä, ë on the one hand and MHG ê, ôe, ę, ö on the other. When Ayrrer rhymes MHG âe, ä, and ë with one another, he undoubtedly pronounces these sounds alike, most likely as an open e-sound (= ë, ē), except before certain consonants (cf. below). MHG ê (originally an open e-sound), ôe, ę, ö, ü (where ü > ö), and i and üe in certain words likewise rhyme with one another as the same sound, most probably as a closed e-sound (= ę, ē),⁸ except, again, before certain consonants (cf.

rain. Excluding the 135 i(üe) : e(ë,ôe) rhymes, the number of e-rhymes are 10,010;81;1. Of this total 5,404;42, or 53.98% are open e-rhymes (= Group I); 3,926;35;1, or 39.22% are closed e-rhymes (= Group II); 680;4, or 6.79% are open e : closed e-rhymes, that is, so-called impure rhymes (= Group III).

⁸Hence, throughout this entire discussion of e-sounds, the first group (MHG âe, ä, ë [Group I]) signifies "open e-sounds," the second group (MHG ê, ôe, ę, ö [Group II]) signifies "closed e-sounds," even though MHG ê was originally open. When an e-sound in Group I rhymes with one in Group II it is considered an "impure" rhyme (= Group III).

below). This distinction is in keeping with the situation in both the Nürnberg literary language and the Nürnberg (and East Franconian) dialect:

3. According to Puls (p. 9), Muskatblüt rhymes MHG ë, ê, â, and âe freely with each other.⁹ An examination of the material he presents (pp. 9-15), however, demonstrates that this statement is much too general and suggests that

a. MHG âe, ë, and ä,¹⁰ on the one hand, MHG ê, ê (and ôe) on the other rhyme freely together, the former sounds most likely as an open e-sound (cf. Puls' material on pp. 12-13), the latter undoubtedly as a closed e-sound (cf. the rhymes of ê with i, Puls, pp. 16-18); but that

b. MHG âe, ä, and ë do, however, rhyme with ê and ê but only under certain conditions, namely

- 1) MHG ë : ê before r and before nasal,
- 2) MHG ê : âe before dental and before st,
- 3) MHG ê : âe before nasal.

In other words, except before r, nasal, dental, and st, Muskatblüt kept apart MHG âe, ä, ë on the one hand and MHG ê (ôe), ê on the other.¹¹

It appears that Sachs distinguished four e-vowels: 1) one short closed vowel (=MHG ê [rarely ë]), 2) one long closed vowel (=MHG ê and lengthened MHG ê), 3) one short open vowel (=MHG ä and ë), and 4) one long open vowel (=MHG âe and lengthened ä and ë)

⁹Despite the few occurrences of MHG ôe in Muskatblüt's rhymes, Puls (p. 12) judges that most likely ôe > ê. Furthermore, he considers (cf. p. 12) the rhyme ö : ê to have rounded (= ö) quality.

¹⁰Puls erroneously ascribes (pp. 9-10) ê to MHG pfärd, schämen, gesläht, näst (cf. on this point, Bahder, pp. 104-53; Michels "Wörterverzeichnis"; Moser, § 70.1).

¹¹This is excellent evidence in support of T. Meyer's judgment that Muskatblüt's language is not NB as Puls claims (p. 50), but is EFr; cf. T. Meyer, "Muskatblüts Marienlieder" (an unpublished Marburg dissertation, 1917). A summary of this work is published in Jahrbuch der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität zu Marburg, 1922-1923: I. Phil.-hist. Abteilung (Marburg, 1924), pp. 33-34. I have not seen this work; my information comes from Moser, p. xxi. Cf. also Junge, p. 132. I regret that Junge's excellent investigation came into my hands too late to be used extensively as the chief source of information with respect to Muskatblüt's language.

For the differences between the e-sounds in B and EFr see below, § 2.4-5.

(cf. Bloomfield, p. 507). Before nasal, however, MHG open and closed e, short or long, were the same sound for Sachs, most likely with closed quality (cf. Bloomfield, pp. 495, 497). Harsdörffer distinguishes between closed e and open e (cf. Neumann, pp. 20-23). Omeis, Fürer, and Riederer make the same distinction as Harsdörffer does. S. von Birken, on the other hand, does not (cf. Neumann, pp. 23-25), nor does Fischart who rhymes MHG ä, ë, e, ö with âe, ê, ôe (cf. Krell, §§ 3-5, 8, 12-13, 16, 31). Since the same letter, e, was used for etymological ë, e, ê, even ä, âe, ö, and ôe, a consideration of the prose of Dürer, Magdalena, and Faumgartner is of little help here.

In the sixteenth century certain poets in their rhymes adhered strictly to the distinctions between the e-sounds which their respective native dialect made. This seems especially true of Alemannic poets, as, for example, Kaspar Scheit (cf. Schauerhammer). However, the majority of the sixteenth century poets apparently¹² either through direct influence of other dialects or through the influence of the literature written in a different dialect (as, for example, Fischart; cf. Krell), made no distinctions between the etymologically different e-sounds (cf. Moser, § 70, note 12). In the seventeenth century, on the other hand, due to the influence of the Opitz "reform," the poets based their e-rhymes on their respective dialects, but in so doing, since they accepted only the more general distinctions which their dialect made, they ignored the certain fine nuances their dialect knew and created new literary ones (cf. Moser, § 70, note 12). Thus the Pegnitz (Nürnberg) poets of this time distinguished between open and closed e; their dialect in general made just such a distinction. But in particular instances, as, for example, before nasal and before r, where the Nürnberg dialect did not distinguish between open and closed e, the Pegnitz poets did.

4. In B in LMHG times MHG ê remained open (= ē) except before nasal when it became ē (= closed e) and MHG âe (over-open e) > ē (= open e), ē, or ā, depending upon the word (cf. Moser, §§ 76 [p. 148], 76.2). In Nb MHG ê before r > ā (=over-open e); MHG âe > ē, before r > ā (cf. Moser, loc. cit.). In EFr in the

¹² Exhaustive studies of the e-sounds in the rhymes of the poets of this period (fifteenth to seventeenth century) are lacking. On this point cf. Moser, § 70, note 12.

twelfth century MHG $\hat{e} > \bar{e}$, before $\underline{r} > \bar{e}$; MHG $\hat{ae} > \bar{e}$, before $\underline{r}$ and also sporadically $> \bar{e}$ (cf. Moser, *loc. cit.*).

In B in the twelfth to thirteenth century MHG $\ddot{e}$, except before $\underline{r}$ and $\underline{l}$ and sometimes before unshifted (West Germanic) $\underline{X}$ and $\underline{kX} > \underline{e}$ (cf. Moser, § 70 [p. 118]).

In Nb in the fourteenth century MHG $\ddot{a} > \ddot{e}$, before $\underline{r} > \ddot{a}$, before nasal and when lengthened $> \bar{\ddot{e}}$; MHG $\ddot{e} > \ddot{e}$, before $\underline{r} > \ddot{a}$, before nasal and when lengthened $> \bar{\ddot{e}}$ [MHG $\underline{e} > \underline{e}$, before $\underline{r} > \ddot{a}$, before nasal $> \underline{e}$; when lengthened $> \bar{\underline{e}}$ (narrow, not over-narrow $\bar{\underline{e}}$)].¹³ In EFr in the thirteenth century MHG $\ddot{a} > \ddot{e}$, before $\underline{r} > \ddot{a}$, before nasal (in the fourteenth century) and when lengthened $> \bar{\ddot{e}}$; MHG $\underline{e}$ in the fourteenth century $> \underline{e}$, before $\underline{r} > \ddot{e}$ (cf. Moser, § 70).

5. In present Nb MHG $\hat{ae} > \bar{e}$, when shortened $> \ddot{e}$; before $\underline{r} > \bar{a}$, when shortened $> \ddot{a}$ (cf. Gebhardt, § 66.2); MHG $\hat{e} > \bar{e}$, when shortened, before nasal, $> \ddot{e}$, before $\underline{r}, > \ddot{a}$ (cf. Gebhardt, § 67). In Bg MHG $\hat{ae}$ generally, even before $\underline{r}, > \bar{e}$; $> \bar{e}$ in MHG $\underline{v\ddot{a}elen}$ 'fehlen' (cf. Batz, § 67.1.2); MHG $\hat{e}$, even before $\underline{r}, > \bar{e}$ (cf. Batz, § 68).

In Nb MHG $\ddot{a} > \underline{e}$ (an $\underline{e}$ -sound between $\ddot{e}$ and $\ddot{a}$; cf. Gebhardt, § 25.3), when lengthened $> \bar{\underline{e}}$; before nasal $> \underline{e}$, when lengthened $> \bar{\underline{e}}$; before $\underline{r} > \ddot{a}$, when lengthened $> \bar{\ddot{a}}$ (cf. Gebhardt, § 57.1-3); MHG $\ddot{e} > \ddot{e}$, when lengthened $> \bar{\underline{e}}$; before $\underline{r} > \ddot{a}$, when lengthened $> \bar{\ddot{a}}$; before nasal and $\underline{st} > \underline{e}$; before $\underline{ch} > \underline{e}$; when lengthened before nasal, $\underline{st}$, and $\underline{ch} > \bar{\underline{e}}$ (cf. Gebhardt, § 58.1-5); MHG $\underline{e} > \underline{e}$, when lengthened (even before $\underline{r}) > \bar{\underline{e}}$ (cf. above and note 13); before $\underline{r} > \ddot{a}$; before nasal $> \underline{e}$, when lengthened $> \bar{\underline{e}}$ (cf. Gebhardt, § 56.1-4). In Bg MHG $\ddot{a}$, depending upon the word, $> \ddot{e}$ (lengthened $> \bar{\ddot{e}}$) or $> \underline{e}$ (when lengthened $> \bar{\underline{e}}$); before $\underline{r} > \underline{e}$ (cf. Batz, § 49; cf. also § 16); MHG $\ddot{e} > \ddot{e}$, when lengthened $> \bar{\underline{e}}$; before $\underline{r} > \underline{e}$, when lengthened $> \bar{\underline{e}}$; before nasal $> \underline{e}$ (cf. Batz, § 50.1-4); MHG $\underline{e} > \underline{e}$, when lengthened, even before $\underline{r}, > \bar{\underline{e}}$; before $\underline{r} > \underline{e}$ (cf. Batz, § 47.1-5).

6. It is evident from the above that the sharp distinction between the different $\underline{e}$ -sounds in the MHG dialects was no longer kept in exactly the same way in the individual dialects since ENHG times. Thus MHG $\ddot{a}$, $\ddot{e}$, and $\underline{e}$, which were all different

¹³The situation with respect to MHG $\underline{e}$ in Nb in ENHG times is not specifically treated by Moser. From his following statements (cf. § 70), however, as well as from the situation in modern Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 56), the above statement in brackets may be inferred.

in quality in Nb in MHG times, were the same sound before r and before nasal in Nb in the ENHG period: the quality of the sound before r was an over-open one, before nasal a closed one. Furthermore, occasionally the original e-sound in a particular word was changed in a dialect. In modern Nb (and in ENHG Nb ?), for example, the closed quality of the e in grebt 'gräbt' changed to open e, presumably ä, which in Nb regularly becomes ê (cf. Gebhardt, § 57.1), otherwise it would have become grîbt, for in Nb MHG e, when lengthened, > î (cf. Gebhardt, § 56.1). The question is: how does Ayrer distinguish these e-sounds; are his distinctions, if there are any, identical with those made by the Nb dialect at 1600? If we answer this question we will know the relationship of the Nb literary language of 1600 (Ayrer) to the Nb spoken dialect of the same time. For this purpose it is expedient to examine Ayrer's e-rhymes closely; a logical method would be to treat the e-sounds separately before the individual consonants since it is mainly before certain consonants that the ENHG dialects show a loss of distinction in e-sounds. Pertinent in this connection is the constant comparison of the situation in Ayrer's rhymes to that of Sachs and Harsdörffer (and the other Pegnitz poets); excellent studies of the e-sounds for both are available.¹⁴ Such a comparison will show the relationship of the Nb literary language to the Nb dialect at a period before Ayrer (1550-1600) and at a period after Ayrer (1600-1650):

7. e in final position: 108;2 rhymes.

ê rhymes only with â in final position.

8. e before r and r + consonant: 3,061;24 rhymes.

	<u>âê</u>	<u>ä</u>	<u>ö</u>
<u>âê</u>	93	6	487;8
<u>ä</u>	6	...	32
<u>ö</u>	487;8	32	1229;5

I = 1847;13 (= 60.3%)

	<u>ê</u>	<u>ôê</u>	<u>ę</u>	<u>ö</u>
<u>ê</u>	341;3	186;2	194;2	3
<u>ôê</u>	186;2	45	52	10
<u>ę</u>	194;2	52	125;2	3
<u>ö</u>	3	10	3	...

II = 959;9 (=31.3%)

	<u>ê</u>	<u>ôê</u>	<u>ę</u>	<u>ö</u>
<u>âê</u>	72;1	2	3	...
<u>ä</u>	...	...	...	2
<u>ö</u>	134;1	7	35	...

III = 255 (=8.4%)

¹⁴Bloomfield examined over 2,000 e-rhymes; his material, after careful sifting, lends itself to the establishment of many a fine distinction. Neumann's material on the e-rhymes of Harsdörffer, on the other hand, is not too plentiful; the same holds true for the other Pegnitz poets. Hence, sometimes fine e-sound distinctions cannot be drawn for these Pegnitz poets.

It appears from the above table that Ayrer does not distinguish too carefully between closed and open e before r and r + consonant. In agreement with the situation in the Nb and the EFr, specifically Bg, dialects, open and closed e before r in Ayrer's rhymes unquestionably are the same sound, an open e-sound, either ë, which is Bg, or ä, which is Nb. Close scrutiny of Ayrer's er-rhymes reveals the following additional information:

a. e before final r (and rr): 1,150;10 rhymes. Of these 13.9% are rhymes of closed e with open e, the distribution being as follows: äe : ê =68;1, âe : q =2, ë : ê =86, ë : q =4.

b. e before r+n: 1,051;4 rhymes. Of these 5.9% are rhymes of open e with closed e: âe : ê =4, âe : ôe =2, âe : q =1, ë : ê =36, ë : ôe =5, ë : q =4.

c. e before r+t: 655;8 rhymes. Of these 4.07% are rhymes of open with closed e: ë : ê =11;1, ë : ôe =2, ë : q =14.

d. e before r+b: 226;2 rhymes. Of these 3% are rhymes of ë with ê and q: ë : ê =1, ë : q =6.

In other words, Ayrer rhymes closed e with open e before r much more freely when r is in final position than when it is followed by n, t, b, etc. By inference then, it seems that the position of r, alone or before a consonant, may be a determining factor for Ayrer's rhymes of open e with closed e before the liquid r.

Sachs, on the other hand, seems to make a most careful distinction between open and closed e before r (cf. the material in Bloomfield, pp. 490, 491, 495, 496, 498, 499, 502, 503).¹⁵ Total rhymes, 762;1:

¹⁵Since the distinction Sachs makes here is in harmony with the distinction the Bavarian dialect of ENHG times made (where closed and open e before r remained closed and open respectively; cf. above, § 24) and is in disagreement with the situation in the EFr and Nb dialects of his time (where closed and open e fell together before r; cf. above, § 2.4), we may judge this phase of Sachs' language, the er-rhymes, to be Bavarian.

On the strength of the few rhymes of open e with closed e before r which occur in Sachs' works examined by Bloomfield, the latter (cf. p. 490, note 2) regards such rhymes as impure and suggests that Sachs may have gotten them from some Alsatian poet (Th. Murner, for instance). It is equally likely, however, that Sachs got these few "impure" rhymes from his own Nb dialect, where closed and open e fell together before r.

	âe	ä	ë
âe	28	...	174
ä	...	...	31
ë	174	31	252;1

I = 485;1 (= 63.6%)

	ê	ôe	ę
ê	99	1	113
ôe	1	...	...
ę	113	...	55

II = 268 (= 35.2%)

	ê	ę
âe	2	...
ä	1	...
ë	4	2

III = 9 (= 1.16%)

Despite the small number of rhymes of open e with closed e their distribution is very much the same as in Ayrrer. Thus, there are 5 open e : closed e-rhymes where e is before final r, 3 where e is before r+n, 1 where e is before r+t.

Harsdörffer seems to make a distinction between open and closed e before r in the first volume of his Herzbewegliche Sonntagsandachten, published in 1649 (cf. Neumann, p. 21):

	âe	ë *
âe	4	15
ë *	5	5

	ê	ę	ö **
ê	23	27	8
ę	27	12	4
ö **	8	...	2

	ê	ę
âe	3	...
ë	...	2

* Includes ä.** Includes ôe.

Practically the same distribution of open : closed e-rhymes occurs in Harsdörffer: before final r =3; before r+n =1; before r+t =1 (cf. Neumann, p. 21). However, in the second volume of the same work, published in 1652, Harsdörffer seems to make less distinction between closed and open e before r (cf. Neumann, p. 22): out of a total of 45 er-rhymes, 7, or 15.5%, are rhymes of open e with closed e. Omeis, Fürer, Riederer, but not S. von Birken, rhyme e before r very much like Harsdörffer does in the first volume of his Herzbewegliche Sonntagsandachten (cf. Neumann, pp. 24-25).

9. e before l: 795;9 rhymes:

According to the table below, Ayrrer seems to distinguish rather carefully between MHG âe, ä, ë before l on the one hand and MHG ê, ę, ö before l on the other. The one group rhymes with the other 21 times or with 2.8% "impurity."

	âe	ä	ë
âe	3	...	46
ä	...	...	...
ë	46	1	228;2

I : 278;2 (=34.5%)

	ê	ē	ö
ê	1	18;2	1
ē	18;2	369;4	105;1
ö	1	105;1	2

II : 496;7 (=62.7%)

	ê	ē
âe	1	1
ë	4	15

III = 21 (=2.8%)

It is worthy of note that 13 of the above 15 ë : ē rhymes are before l+t. Since this number represents 4.45% of the total -elt-rhymes (cf. catalogue of rhymes), it seems safe to suggest that before -lt Ayrrer shows a tendency to rhyme as pure rhymes open and closed e.

On the basis of the rhyme-frequencies, it appears that Ayrrer pronounces original open e in befelen (MHG bevêlhen 'befehlen') with closed e-sound, for it rhymes but once with a word that has open e and 3 times with words that have closed e-sound (cf. catalogue of rhymes). The chances for it to rhyme with words with open e were much greater than for it to rhyme with words with closed e, for there occur 38 rhymes of open e with open e and but 6 rhymes of closed e with closed e.

It is interesting to speculate, on the basis of the rhyme-frequencies, whether Ayrrer knew both an open and a closed e-pronunciation for MHG sêlen (pl. 'Seele'): he rhymes it with ē =18;2, with ö =1; with âe =1, with ë =4. If he does know an open e-pronunciation, it might be due to the open e-sound in MHG sâelic 'selig' (which rhymes with MHG schêllic 'zornig'). But this would then be the reverse of the accepted explanation, that MHG sâelic lost its original open e-sound and became a closed one due to the influence of MHG sêle.

In the light of this possible change of closed e to open e in MHG sêle and because it rhymes twice with MHG bevêlhen, it is more likely that Ayrrer's befelen has an open e-sound, especially since the present (as well as ENHG ?) Nb dialect has befêln (cf. Gebhardt, § 103.4).

Hence, with respect to the specific rhyme of befelen (ë) : selen (ê), it seems that it is a pure Nb literary rhyme, for not only does Ayrrer have it, but it also occurs in Harsdörffer's rhymes (cf. Neumann, p. 22). It is not a Nb dialect rhyme for Nb has sêll (cf. Gebhardt, § 67) and befêln (cf. Gebhardt, § 103.4).

Sachs seems to distinguish much more carefully than Ayrrer between open and closed e before l (cf. Bloomfield, pp. 491, 494, 496, 497, 504). Total rhymes, 195:

	âe	ä	ë
âe	...	1	17
ä	1	3	4
ë	17	4	48

I = 73 (= 37.4%)

	ê	ẹ	ö
ê	...	17	...
ẹ	17	70	27
ö	...	27	...

II = 114 (= 58.3%)

	ẹ
âe	5
ë	3

III = 8 (= 4.2%)

The 4.2% "impurity," however, is to be reduced to 1.7%, for Bloomfield (p. 504) explains the 5 âe : ẹ rhymes as 3 ê : ẹ and 2 âe : ë rhymes.

Harsdörffer seems to rhyme e before l much like Ayrrer. He has, for example, no rhymes of open with closed e before final l (or ll), but there do occur 10 such rhymes before l+t (cf. Neumann, pp. 21, 23).

In the rhyme fröhlich : selig (ôe : âe) (cf. Neumann, p. 24) Omeis shows the same influence of popular etymology (MHG sâelic > sêlic due to the influence of MHG sêle) attested by Bloomfield for Sachs (cf. Bloomfield, p. 504).

10. e before nasal:

a. before m: 272;1 rhymes:

	âe	ä	ë
âe	84;1	...	46
ä	...	...	87
ë	46	87	3

I = 229;1 (= 81.8%)

	ẹ
ẹ	29

II = 29 (= 10.7%)

	ẹ
âe	5
ä	2
ë	16

III = 23 (= 8.46%)

According to his rhymes, Ayrrer seems not to know a careful distinction between open and closed e before m.

Sachs knows even less distinction here (cf. Bloomfield, pp. 493, 494, 496, 497, 502). Total rhymes, 53:

	âe	ä	ë
âe	...	4	7
ä	4	...	29
ë	7	29	2

I = 42 (= 79.3%)

	e	üe
ä	1	...
ë	10	...
e	...	1

III = 11 (= 20.7%)

Nothing can be concluded from the -em rhymes in the works of the Pegnitz poets studied by Neumann, since there occur but two such rhymes (cf. Neumann, p. 21).

b. before n: 1,235;11;1.¹⁶

	ä	ë	i
ä	4	3	...
ë	3	14	50

	ê	ôe	e	ü	i	üe
ê	232;2	24;1	19	14	...	...
ôe	24;1	7	2	6	...	7
e	19	2	594;6;1	4	71	...
ü	14	6	4	...	...	...

	ê	e
âe	1	...
ä	...	15
ë	5	308;2

I=24 (=1.91%)

II=902;9;1 (=71.8%)

III = 329;2
(= 26.2%)

According to his rhymes Ayrrer does not seem to distinguish between open and closed e before n. Unquestionably the quality of the e-sound in his -en rhymes is closed e. This is in agreement with the situation in the dialects of Nb and Bg (cf. above, § 2.4).

Sachs likewise makes no distinction between closed and open e before n and most likely rhymes them, according to Bloomfield's statement (p. 494), in the direction of closed e. The statistics for his -en rhymes, of which there are 169;2,¹⁷ are as follows (cf. Bloomfield, pp. 493, 494, 502, 505, 506):¹⁸

¹⁶Not included in this figure are the 134 rhymes of e-sound with MHG i and üe, nor the one ê : a rhyme, nor the triple rhyme: ë : e : i. (Grand total: 1,370;12;1.)

¹⁷Not included in this total are the 6 rhymes of e with i.

¹⁸Most remarkable is the lack of -ên : -ên rhymes, especially since Sachs knew MHG gên, stên, and zwên, and rhymes them 10 times with -en (cf. Bloomfield, p. 505). Whereas Ayrrer rhymes gên, stên, and zwên with -en 9 times, he rhymes gên, stên, and zwên among each other 232;2 times.

	ë
ë	4

I = 4 (=2.3%)

	ê	ē	ī
ê	...	24	1
ē	24	104	5

II = 128 (=75.7%)

	ê	ē
âê	...	1
ë	12;2	24

III = 37;2 (=21.89%)

Harsdörffer, on the other hand, seems to make a distinction in his rhymes between open e before n and flehen (MHG vlêhen) on the one hand and closed e before n on the other (cf. Neumann, pp. 21, 23). The remaining Pegnitz poets do likewise.

Both Ayrer and Sachs, then, rhyme e before nasal in full agreement with the modern (and ENHG ?) Bg dialect and partly in accordance with the Nb dialect. Both Bg and Nb have closed e-pronunciation for MHG â, ë, and ē before nasal, while it is only Bg which has closed e-pronunciation for MHG âê and ê (ôê). Nb has öi for MHG ê before nasal and ē for MHG âê (cf. Gebhardt, § 66.2a).

c. Special considerations:

1) send 'sind'.¹⁹ Ayrer rhymes send 'sind' as an e-sound 127 times (: -ent =71; : -ënt =56). Undoubtedly the quality of this e-sound is a closed one, since in Ayrer's rhymes both ë and ē before nasal > ē.

Sachs also knows the form "send"; it occurs 5 times in his rhymes (cf. Bloomfield, p. 506) and frequently outside of rhyme (cf. Shumway, p. 143). The form send was not an uncommon variant beside sind in the literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (cf. DWb, X, 1, col. 234; cf. also Weinhold, § 296). In MG about the eleventh century MHG i > ē (cf. Moser, § 72, p. 131). In the present Nb dialect the form sen (with closed e) occurs be-

¹⁹Very likely the correct explanation for send is the one offered by Weinhold (§ 296), namely, that it is the result of a weakening of sein, a form which he considers a mixture of 3d person pl. ind. sind and 1st and 2d person pl. subj. sein, seit. This appears to be Gebhardt's explanation also (cf. Gebhardt, § 114, note 4).

Both Weinhold (loc. cit.) and Schachner (pp. 3, 22) attest the early occurrence of send. Schachner (loc. cit.) locates it as a B-Au and Swab-Al form.

More recent dialect studies, e.g., for Bg, Nb, Upper Schefflenz (cf. Roedder, §§ 36, 70) have shown, in contradiction to Schachner's findings, that the form with e (sen) does occur in the modern HG dialects.

side sin (cf. Gebhardt, § 114, note 4, § 382). Bg has sën with open e (cf. Batz, § 54.2). The loss of -d in this word in the dialects is undoubtedly due to assimilation.²⁰

It appears from the foregoing that Ayrer's and Sach's send 'sind' with closed e is a literary form (chiefly Nb ?) which most probably has its immediate basis in the Nb dialect, though its original basis unquestionably is MG.

2) e < ö < MHG ü.

Ayrer rhymes MHG sün (spelled sön), MHG begün 'begönne,' MHG künnen 'können,' and MHG künden 'könnten' altogether 24 times with e-sounds. This represents unrounding of ö to e. The ö-forms are either Swab (where ü before n > ö) or MG (where ü regularly > ö); cf. below for discussion, §§ 3-5.

3) e < ö < ü < MHG üe.

Ayrer rhymes schön (MHG schöene) 6 times with grün²¹ (MHG grüene) and with kün (MHG küene),²² and krönen (MHG kröenen) with versönen (MHG versüenen) once, very likely as a long e-sound.

The explanation for these rhymes is parallel to the one above: MHG öe was unrounded to ē and MHG üe was monophthongized to ü. The latter became ō (regularly in MG, before nasal in Swab) and fell together with MHG öe and was unrounded with it to ē (cf. Paul, II, § 85, note 2 [Vol. I, p. 218]). In other words, these rhymes of Ayrer seem to have their basis in either the MG or the Swab dialect. However, two other interpretations, though less probable, may be presented:

a) that schön rhymes with grün, kün as an ī : ī rhyme. The basis for this is the early occurrence in Nb writings of the

²⁰ This is the explanation offered by Weinhold (§ 296). Gebhardt, on the other hand, believes that the loss of -d in sind, send is parallel to the loss of -t in the 3d person pl. pres. ind. (cf. Gebhardt, § 114, note 4; also § 112.3a).

²¹ There occurs the word grobgrün (line 2453.11) 'stark-fädiges Zeug,' which, according to the DWb is borrowed (in the sixteenth century ?) from the French gros-grain, but which occurs, almost from the beginning, in the form grobgrün, and, in Swabia about 1601 (cf. Fischer SWb), as grobgrien; here the ie most likely represents unrounded ü. This suggests that the borrowed word was from the start, possibly through popular etymology, associated with the German word grün (MHG grüene). We may, hence, ascribe üe to Ayrer's grobgrün.

²² The basis for Ayrer's kön 'kühn' might possibly be MLG koëne rather than MHG küene (both < Gmc. *kōn-i) (cf. Kluge; DWb; Weinhold, § 59).

change MHG ê before n to ī. Thus it occurs in the fifteenth century MS writings of Ulman Stomer and in the MS Nb chronicles of the sixteenth century (cf. Lexer's glossary to Vol. II of the Nb chronicles). Even a Nb printer prints stien for MHG stên and gien for MHG gên (cf. Bahder, p. 33; cf. also DWb and Koch, note 62). Magdalena (ca. 1600) writes ie (= ī) very often for MHG ê before n (cf. Koch, § 14).

If MHG ôe were unrounded to ê we naturally would expect to find ī for ôe since ê > ī (cf. above). This we actually do in the letters of Magdalena. She often writes schien, schiner for MHG schôene, schôener (cf. Koch, § 17). The change MHG ôe, ê > ī occurred early in the Tirol (cf. Weinhold, § 91) and in all MG territory as early as MHG times (cf. Moser, § 76, note 7.1).

b) that schön rhymes with grün as an ei : ei rhyme. The basis for this is the Nb dialect.²³ Here MHG ôe (> ei = open e-diphthong; cf. Gebhardt, § 69) and MHG üe (> ei = closed e-diphthong; cf. Gebhardt, § 80) would rhyme almost as a pure rhyme.

Sachs also has this kind of a rhyme: kön 'kühn' : sön; grön 'grün' : schön; grön : gedön 'Getön' (cf. Sommer, p. 59; Bahder, p. 33; Weinhold, § 59). Fischart rhymes versönen (MHG versüenen) with beschönen (MHG beschôenen) (cf. Krell, § 26b).

11. Ayrer rhymes e before b as follows:

ë : ë 1,168;9 rhymes; ë : q 1 rhyme (= .085% "impurity").

Ayrer carefully distinguishes between ë and q before b; there occurs but one ë : q rhyme. At first glance it would seem that the almost total lack of words in the German language with closed e before b must be considered a factor in this distinction, for not a single -ëb : -qb rhyme occurs. But closer scrutiny reveals the fact that though Ayrer knows the verb heben (MHG hēben), which is one of the two words with MHG q before b, and uses different parts of it in rhyme (e.g., hub, gehoben), he never uses in rhyme the infinitive or the forms of the present tense. This may well be due to two factors: (1) that Ayrer does not know (at least it never occurs in his rhymes), the only other word in the German language with q before b, entsēben 'wahrnehmen,' which was already archaic at Ayrer's time (cf. DWb; Paul, III, § 169 [Vol. II, p. 237]

²³In modern Bg MHG schôene appears as šö (cf. Batz, § 72) and MHG grüene as grü (cf. Batz, § 80). For schē(n) / schei(n) and grü(n) / grei(n) in the modern dialects, cf. Fischer, §§ 29, 35 and maps 11 and 12.

and note 8); and (2) that Ayrrer knows a distinction between open and closed e before b. The first factor would explain why there are no -əb : -eb rhymes, the second would explain the lack, with apparently one exception, of -eb : -ēb rhymes. So far as the "exception," the rhyme MHG grēbt : lēbt, is concerned, it is significant that it would rhyme as a pure closed long e-rhyme in the present (and the seventeenth century ?) Nb dialect. That is to say, the lengthened vowel of MHG grēbt became ē rather than ī²⁴ (cf. Gebhardt, § 378.5; also § 56), just as lengthened MHG ē became ē (cf. Gebhardt, § 58). Similarly, the present Nb dialect would also explain the lack of the rhyme MHG grēbt : hēbt in Ayrrer's rhymes for this dialect has the form hīpt for hēbt (cf. Gebhardt, § 110.3a and note 7, § 139.2).

Because of the lack of material it is impossible to determine whether or not Sachs makes a distinction between ē and e before b.²⁵ The rhymes löwen : erheben (e) and löwen : eben (ē) (cf. Sommer, p. 55) suggest that Sachs knew both MHG lēwe and lēwe. Evidence of this nature is too scanty to permit conclusions regarding Sachs' distinction between open and closed e before b.

Harsdörffer does not seem to distinguish too well between ē and e before b: he rhymes -ēb : -ēb 50 times and -ēb : -eb (heb-) 5 times (cf. Neumann, pp. 21-23). S. von Birken knows no distinction at all here: he rhymes -ēb : -eb 94 times (cf. Neumann, p. 25).

12. e before dentals (d and t): 998;6 rhymes:

It appears at first glance that Ayrrer does not seem to make a careful distinction between open and closed e before dental, since 66 of the total 998;6, or 6.61%, are "impure" rhymes.

²⁴Since in Nb MHG ä becomes ē when lengthened, it seems likely that the e in MHG grēbt was displaced by ä due to association with the a-forms of the verb as well as the noun, just as MHG schemen became schämen for Sachs (cf. Bloomfield, pp. 496-497) and for Ayrrer (cf. above, catalogue of rhymes) by association with MHG schamen (cf. also on this point Bahder, pp. 105, 107).

²⁵Bloomfield (cf. pp. 489-507), strangely enough, records not a single -eb : -eb rhyme for Sachs. If this is an omission, is it due to the fact that he found no -ēb : -eb rhyme for Sachs?

	âe	ä	ë
âe	11	...	23
ä	...	...	1
ë	23	1	15

I = 50 (=4.96%)

	ê	ôe	ę	ö
ê	344;1	26;2	250;2	3
ôe	26;2	24	25	1
ę	250;2	25	202;1	5
ö	3	1	5	2

II = 882;6 (=88.4%)

	ê	ę
âe	31	4
ë	25	6

III = 66 (=6.61%)

However, since Ay rer very likely knew open e-forms for the preterite subjunctive of MHG hân and tuon,²⁶ we may assume that he uses such forms when he rhymes them with words that have open e. Accordingly, Ay rer's "impure" rhymes of e before dental are lessened to 30 or 3% of the total. If we consider this open e-sound in het and tet to be âe, the statistics are as follows:

	âe	ä	ë
âe	33	...	37
ä	...	...	1
ë	37	1	15

I = 86 (=8.6%)

	ê	ôe	ę	ö
ê	344;1	26;2	250;2	3
ôe	26;2	24	25	1
ę	250;2	25	202;1	5
ö	3	1	5	2

II = 882;6 (=88.4%)

	ê	ę
âe	9	4
ë	11	6

III = 30 (=3%)

Sachs makes practically the same distinction in his e + dental rhymes:²⁷ 5 (=2.82%) out of 177 are "impure":²⁸

²⁶This was perfectly permissible. Many forms for hätten and täten existed in MHG (cf. Michels, § 284.1; Zwierzina, "Beobachtungen ... etc.," pp. 491-500; Zwierzina, ZfdA, XLIV, 101-16; cf. also the -es rhymes below and note 35). No doubt the Nb dialect of Ay rer's time still possessed all or many of these forms, for that is the only good explanation for the wealth of forms for the preterite subjunctive of haben and tun which occur in modern Nb. Thus the vowel sounds in tait, täist, töst (taitst, töst) heitst, heist (cf. Gebhardt, § 396) can come from MHG âe (cf. Gebhardt, § 11.1-2); tëit, tëist, hëit, hëist (cf. Gebhardt, § 115, note 2) can come from MHG ê (cf. Gebhardt, § 67); hëst, hëstst (cf. Gebhardt, § 396) can come from MHG ë or shortened MHG âe (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 58, 66.2); hetst, hest (cf. Gebhardt, § 396) can come from MHG ę (cf. Gebhardt, § 56).

²⁷Cf. the material in Bloomfield, pp. 493, 494, 495, 496, 498, 501, 502, 504, 505, 506.

	âe	ä	ë
âe	2	1	12
ä	1	...	1
ë	12	1	11

I = 27 (=15.3%)

	ê	ę
ê	44	95
ę	95	6

II = 145 (=81.8%)

	ê	ę
ë	1	4

III = 5 (=2.82%)

Harsdörffer, however, seems to make very little distinction between closed and open e before dental,²⁹ S. von Birken even less.³⁰

13. e before guttural (g and k): 471;1 rhymes:

	âe	ä	ë
âe	...	2	12
ä	2	2	1
ë	12	1	197

I = 214 (=45.4%)

	ê	ę	ö	ü
ê	1	1	...	...
ę	1	237;1	2	5
ö	...	2	2	...

II = 247;1 (=52.4%)

	ê	ę
ä	...	1
ë	4	5

III = 10 (=2.1%)

Notwithstanding the 2.1% "impurity," Ayrrer distinguishes carefully between MHG âe, ä, ë before g and k on the one hand and MHG ê, ę, ö, ü (where ü > ö) on the other, for his rhymes show that he pronounced the MHG ê in wegern (MHG wêgern 'weigern') as though it were MHG âe. The form wâgern, with open e-sound, occurred in Southwestern Germany during the sixteenth to the seventeenth century (cf. DWb; cf. also Paul, II, § 55, note 1 [Vol. I, p. 191], and II, § 52, note 2 [Vol. I, p. 188]). Thus the three rhymes of MHG wêgern : belêgern and the one rhyme of wêgert : belêgert could be pure rhymes. Furthermore, it seems quite likely that the two -ęgel : -ägel, -ęgel : -ëgel rhymes (cf. catalogue of rhymes) are

²⁸In view of the evidence for open e-forms for het 'hätte' in the Nb dialect as well as in Ayrrer, I would rather consider Sachs' rhyme of het : gebet (MHG gebēt)--which Bloomfield considers most likely impure--as a pure (ë : ë) rhyme, despite the fact that it is the only occurrence in Sachs of het rhyming with a word that has open e quality (cf. Bloomfield, p. 505).

²⁹There are tabulated but 13 rhymes of e before dental (cf. Neumann, p. 21): ë : âe =1; ę : ę =1; ę : ö =4; ę : ê =2; ê : ö =1; ë : ê =3.

³⁰Cf. Neumann, p. 25.

also pure rhymes with either open or closed e.³¹ Thus 6 of the 10 etymologically (that is, MHG) "impure" rhymes may very well be pure ones for Ayrrer. That leaves 4 "impure" rhymes (=8%).

Sachs, according to the material presented by Bloomfield, makes a similarly careful distinction between open and closed e before guttural: he rhymes 4 out of 186 (=2.15%) as "impure" rhymes, but at least 2 of these (regel : flegel : schlegel; cf. below, note 31) are very probably not "impure."³²

14. e before MHG h (<Gmc. h, hw) and MHG ch (<Gmc. k): 1,249;15 rhymes:

	<u>âe</u>	<u>ä</u>	<u>ë</u>
<u>âe</u>	7;1	10	221;9
<u>ä</u>	10	10	40
<u>ë</u>	221;9	40	952;5

	<u>ê</u>
<u>ê</u>	3

	<u>ê</u>	<u>ę</u>
<u>ä</u>	...	3
<u>ë</u>	2	1

I = 1240;15 (=99.27%)

II = 3 (=2.4%)

III = 6 (=4.8%)

According to his rhymes Ayrrer makes a careful distinction between open and closed e before h and ch: 6, or .48% of the total are "impure." However, this number is to be lessened to 2, or .16%, in view of the fact that Ayrrer very likely knew a form for möchte with closed e (MHG möhte; cf. -ech rhymes in the catalogue of rhymes), inasmuch as he has 3 rhymes of möchte with ę. Moreover, we also have a pure rhyme when we read geschmecht (MHG gesmächt) for geschwecht (MHG geswächt) when it rhymes with recht (MHG rēht); cf. catalogue of rhymes.

Sachs likewise distinguishes carefully between open and closed e before h and ch: out of a total of 493 such rhymes, he

³¹ In some dialects ę before -gel > ë or ä, in others ë before -gel > ę (cf. Bahder, pp. 133, 141; Paul, II, § 52, note² [Vol. I, p. 188]). Bloomfield (p. 494) concludes ę-sound for re-gel, flegel, and schlegel, since regel rhymes once each with the other two. This ę-sound is also most likely the sound in Ayrrer's negel (ä) (: flegel) and regel (ë) (: flegel) because flegel (ę) rhymes with schlegel (ę) and vögel (ö > ę).

³² The statistics for Sachs, based on Bloomfield's material (cf. pp. 492, 493, 494, 497, 500, 501, 504, 506), are: Group I: 94 rhymes [50.53%] (âe : âe =3, ä : ä =3, ë : ë =83, ä : âe =1); Group II: 88 rhymes [47.31%] (ę : ę =86, ę : ê =1, ę : ö =1); Group III: 4 rhymes [2.15%] (ë : ę =4).

has 2 (=61%) "impure" ones.³³ The Pegnitz poets seem to make the same distinction.³⁴

15. e before sibilant: 555;3 rhymes:

	<u>ae</u>	<u>ä</u>	<u>ë</u>
<u>ae</u>	3	...	13
<u>ä</u>	...	2	...
<u>ë</u>	13	...	306;2

I = 324;2 (=58.19%)

	<u>ê</u>	<u>œ</u>	<u>ę</u>
<u>ê</u>	9	...	1
<u>œ</u>	...	56	1
<u>ę</u>	1	1	159;1

II = 226;1 (=40.9%)

	<u>ê</u>	<u>œ</u>	<u>ę</u>
<u>ae</u>	...	2	...
<u>ä</u>	...	...	1
<u>ë</u>	1	1	...

III = 5 (=9%)

It is evident from his rhymes that Ay rer makes a most careful distinction between open and closed e before sibilant. Here the possibility for rhyming ę-words with ë-words was extremely favorable. There occur, for example, 306;2 ë : ë rhymes and 159;1 ę : ę rhymes; nevertheless, Ay rer has but 5 out of 555;3 or less than 1% "impure" rhymes. What is more, ë never rhymes with ę! Furthermore, if we ascribe open e (MHG ae or ë) to hest 'hättest',³⁵ in the rhyme hest : gewest (ë) the percentage of "impure" rhymes will be lowered to .72%. And again, if the e-sound in wesch in the rhyme wesch : zesch (MHG ä) is to be considered MHG ä instead of ę,³⁶ then the percentage of "impurity" will be lowered still more, and that to .545%.

Sachs is practically as careful as Ay rer in distinguishing closed and open e before sibilant. According to his rhymes there occur 2 (=1.4%) "impure" ones.³⁷ Harsdörffer and the other Pegnitz

³³The statistics, compiled from Bloomfield's material (cf. pp. 493, 494, 495, 496, 501, 502, 506), are as follows: Group I: 320 rhymes [98.46%] (ae : ae =14, ä : ä =10, ë : ë =200, ae : ä =4, ë : ae =80, ä : ë =12); Group II: 3 [.923%] (ę : ę =2, ę : ë =1); Group III: 2 [.61%] (ë : ę =2).

³⁴Cf. Neumann, pp. 22, 25, where, however, no statistics for e before ch are given.

³⁵This is very likely, inasmuch as Ay rer undoubtedly knew forms for hättest with both closed and open e; cf. above the discussion under the -et sounds.

³⁶Closed e before -sch became open e very early and in most dialects, for example, in B-Au (cf. Bahder, pp. 114-16, 132-36), but apparently not in Nb (cf. Bahder, p. 116; Bloomfield, p. 496, note 2).

³⁷Sachs has a total of 142 -es rhymes. Their distribution

poets seem never to fail to distinguish between open and closed e before sibilant (cf. Neumann, pp. 21-25).

16. e before f and pf: 9 rhymes:

	ä
âê	1
ë	6

I = 7

	ö
ø	2

II = 2

It is not permissible to conclude from the above that Ayer knew a distinction between open and closed e before f and pf since the test for such a distinction, the occurrence of suitable rhyme-words with closed and open e, cannot be applied. There occur only words with open e before f and only words with closed e before pf.

This situation is similar for Sachs. He rhymes as follows: ä : ä =3, ä : âê =4 (cf. Bloomfield, p. 496).

17. The foregoing investigation of the e-sounds in Ayer's rhymes demonstrates:

a. that, except before r and before nasal, Ayer makes a most careful distinction between MHG âê, ä, ë on the one hand and MHG ê, ôê, ø, ö, ü (where ü > ö) on the other. The nature of the sound in the âê, ä, and ë-rhymes is open e (= ê, ë); in the ê, ôê, ø, ö, ü (where ü > ö)-rhymes it is closed e (= ø, ö).

1) Ayer makes no distinction between open e (= âê, ä, ë) and closed e (= ê, ôê, ø, ö) before r. The quality of this e-sound is undoubtedly an open one, presumably middle-open (= ê, ë) rather than over-open (= ä, â).

2) Ayer makes no distinction between open and closed e before nasal. The quality of this e-sound is unquestionably a closed one (= ø, ö).

a) Ayer often rhymes the i in sind (always written with e) and occasionally the üe in grün and kühn as closed e-sounds.

b. that Ayer's distinction between the etymologically different e-sounds is, for the most part, in complete agreement

according to groups is as follows: Group I: 133 rhymes [93.6%] (ä : ä =2, ä : âê =3, ë : ë =128); Group II: 7 [4.9%] (ê : ê =3, ø : ø =4); Group III: 2 [1.4%] (ë : ø =1, ë : ö =1); cf. Bloomfield, pp. 493, 496, 498, 506.

with the distinctions the Nb dialect of his time made: only 60, or .605%, of a total of over 10,000 e-rhymes are "impure."

1) Thus the Nb dialect of his time "explains" as pure 620³⁸ of the 680 rhymes which are impure etymologically.

2) Hence Moser's statement does not apply to Ayrrer. Moser had stated (§ 70, note 12 [p. 127]):

... auch im 16. Jh. hält ein Teil der Dichter (besonders, wie es scheint, al.) an der genauen mundartlichen Scheidung der e-Laute fest, während andere--es ist dies wohl die Mehrzahl--entweder unter direkter Einwirkung anderer Maa. oder anders dialektischer Dichtungen (so z. B. Fischart) diese ganz oder doch teilweise im Reim zusammenwerfen, worüber es noch an genauern Untersuchungen fehlt.

18. The foregoing examination of the e-sounds in the rhymes of Sachs and Harsdörffer as presented by Bloomfield and Neumann respectively demonstrates:

a. that Sachs distinguishes most carefully, except before nasal, between MHG âe, ä, ë on the one hand and MHG ê (ôê), ē (ö) on the other. The quality of the first group is open, of the second, closed e.

1) Before nasal MHG âe, ä, ë, ê, ē are the same sound for Sachs; its quality is undoubtedly closed e.

b. that Harsdörffer makes a rough distinction between MHG âe, ê, ë, and MHG vlêhen on the one hand and MHG ê (ôê), ē (ö) on the other.

19. A comparison of the treatment of the e-sounds in the rhymes of Ayrrer with that in the rhymes of Sachs and Harsdörffer demonstrates:

a. all three generally distinguish between open e and closed e;

b. but specifically

1) Sachs and Ayrrer pronounce open and closed e before nasal as a closed e; Harsdörffer distinguishes between open and closed e before nasal;

2) Ayrrer pronounces open and closed e before r as an open e; Sachs distinguishes closed and open e before r; so does Harsdörffer in 1649 but apparently not in 1652.

20. In terms of the Nürnberg literary language and the

³⁸ That leaves 60 "impure" rhymes which cannot be "explained" as pure by the Nb or Bg dialect. These rhymes are: before l =21, before dental =30, before guttural =4, before ch =2, before sibilant =3.

Nürnberg dialect, these facts, as outlined above, demonstrate:

a. that, with respect to the e-sounds, the Nürnberg literary language of 1650 (Pegnitz poets) was not identical with the Nürnberg dialect of that time.

1) The Nürnberg literary language distinguished between open and closed e-sounds in a more general manner than that made by the Nürnberg dialect. Thus, where the dialect knew no distinction between open and closed e before nasal and before r, the literary language of Nürnberg made a distinction.

2) This certifies Moser's statement (§ 70, note 12):

Dagegen legen ... die nürnberg. Dichter der Opitzischen Reform bei ihrem Bestreben nach Reimreinheit ihren e-Reimen wiederum die Qualitäten ihrer Heimatma. zugrunde, wobei sie jedoch nicht mehr die feinem Nuancen sondern nur gewisse stark hervortretende Unterschiede berücksichtigen.

b. that, with respect to the e-sounds, the Nürnberg literary language of 1550 (Sachs) was not quite identical with the Nürnberg dialect of that time: where the dialect knew no distinction between open and closed e before r (since the thirteenth century), the Nürnberg literary language did distinguish these sounds before r. This distinction points to a Bavarian element in the Nürnberg literary language at 1550.

c. that, with respect to the e-sounds, the Nürnberg literary language of 1600 (Ayrer) agreed in almost all respects with the Nürnberg dialect of that time.

21. In summary, the history of the e-sounds in the Nürnberg literary language from 1550 until 1650 is somewhat as follows. At 1550 a distinction was made between open and closed e, except before nasal. This, with one exception, was in agreement with the Nürnberg dialect. The exception, e before r, where no distinction was made at 1550, is Bavarian. At 1600 the Nürnberg literary language was in full agreement with the Nürnberg dialect. At 1650 the Nürnberg literary language agreed basically with the dialect but certain of its finer nuances were unobserved, while other (literary) nuances were introduced. By 1700 the Nürnberg poets (Omeis, Fürer, Riederer) seem to have lost all distinction between open and closed e.

§ 3 i-sounds (=MHG i, ie, ü, üe; f, fe;
ö, ö, u, u): 8,162;65 rhymes

1. Table of rhymes:

	i	ie	ü	üe	f	fe	ö	ë	q	ê
i	4879;41	781;3	628;9	102;3	140;1	...	...	1	...	1
ie	781;3	506;1	158	300;4	5	...	...	...	...	...
ü	628;9	158	427;3	105	...	...	2	...	...	...
üe	102;3	300;4	105	116	1	...	...	...	1	...
f	140;1	5	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	...
fe	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...

2. According to his rhymes MHG i, ie, ü, üe, as well as f and ë in originally unaccented syllable, ö in MHG vörme(e), fe in foreign words, and q and ê, once each, in MHG beschern and êr 'Ehre' respectively, are the same sound for Ayrer. The evidence assembled below, supported by evidence from orthography,³⁹ demonstrates that the qualitative nature of this sound is the monophthong i.⁴⁰

3. These sounds are also the same monophthong i in the rhymes of Muskatblüt (cf. the rhymes presented by Puls, pp. 15-20),⁴¹ Sachs (cf. Sommer, pp. 56-58; Bahder, pp. 34-36, Kehrein, I, § 288; cf. also Frommann, pp. 23-25, 38; Lützelberger, p. viii), the Pegnitz poets (cf. Neumann, pp. 107 and note 2, 110, 165, 217, 225, 228, 258, 271, 283, 348; Bahder, pp. 36-37), Klaj (cf. Franz,

³⁹Ayrer most frequently writes i for MHG ie (zich = MHG ziehe; spazirn, verlirn) and ü for üe (verführt); conversely, he occasionally writes ie for MHG i (pließen = MHG gebliben; giebt = MHG gibt). Unaccented MHG i (in -lich generally, in -rich often) and MHG ë in the ending -ëht (töricht = MHG toerëht) appear as i. He often writes i and ie for üe (firn MHG vüern, mihen, miehen = MHG müejen; miessen = MHG müēen) and conversely, üe for ie (krüegen = MHG kriegen).

⁴⁰This implies monophthongization of MHG ie > i, unrounding of MHG ü > i, and both monophthongization and unrounding of MHG üe > i.

⁴¹This interpretation, which is based on Muskatblüt's i-rhymes as they are presented by Puls, is equally as permissible as Puls' interpretation that Muskatblüt's i-rhymes have a diphthong quality. It is to be pointed out that according to the former interpretation the dialect basis for Muskatblüt's i-rhymes is EFr and Nb (cf. below), according to the latter it is Bavarian (cf. below). This seems to be further evidence (cf. above, § 2, note 11 and below, § 5, note 59) in support of T. Meyer's statement that Muskatblüt's dialect more likely is EFr rather than NB, as Puls claims (cf. Puls, p. 50).

pp. 222-23), Opitz and the Silesian School (cf. Neumann, pp. 102, 110, 344; Moser, § 65, note 11; Jellinek PBB, XLIII, pp. 286-96), and Fischart (cf. Krell, §§ 6, 10, 24, 26, 28, 33 [p. 35], 35).⁴² And according to their orthography in prose, these sounds are the same for Dürer (cf. Hartmann, §§ 37-38, 41.2), for Magdalena and presumably for Paumgartner (cf. Koch, §§ 5, 9-10, 19, 23, 28).⁴³ These were the same sounds in Nürnberg's literary language in the sixteenth century (cf. Moser Einf., pp. 9, 20, 38, 62-63).

4. In eastern EFr and in EMG during the MHG period MHG ie > ī, MHG üe > ū (cf. Moser, § 81.2 and notes 10-15; Michels, § 96, notes 1-3; Bahder, pp. 42, 52; Behaghel, §§ 275.2, 276.2; Moser Einf., p. 9; Wrede, ZfdMaa [1919], p. 13; cf. also Socin, pp. 141-42). In NB and Nb about 1250 MHG ie, üe > ī, ū which, in the fourteenth century, > ei, eü respectively (cf. Moser, § 81.3 and notes 17-19; Michels, § 96, note 2; cf. also Weinhold, § 79; Kehrein, I, § 120; Jellinek ZfdPh, XXXIII, pp. 106, 122; Schmeller MB, §§ 301, 312, 388; Brenner, p. 30).⁴⁴ In UG, with the exception of NB, MHG ie, üe retained their original diphthong quality (cf. Moser, § 81.1; Weinhold, §§ 89-90, 92-93, 107, 109; Schmeller MB, §§ 309, 390; Moser Einf., p. 9; Bahder, p. 28; cf. also Muth, p. 17; Fischer, §§ 23, 25, 30, 32; Blanckenburg, p. 49).

In HG territory, with the exception of EFr and Nb, MHG ü, üe > i, ie by 1400 (cf. Moser, § 65; Brenner, p. 30; cf. also Michels, § 86 for ü).

5. In present Bg MHG ie > ī (cf. Batz, § 77), MHG üe > ū (Batz, § 80), MHG ü > ū (Batz, §§ 62-64). In present BayFr and BS MHG ie > ī, MHG ü > i, MHG üe > ī (Schübel, §§ 10.1a, 10.4a). In BgFr MHG ie > ī, MHG ü, üe > ū, ū respectively (cf. Schübel, loc. cit.). In UP near BS MHG ie > ei, MHG üe > ei (cf. Schübel, § 10.4a), and MHG ü > i (Schübel, § 10.1a). In present Nb MHG ie > öi, when shortened > e; MHG üe > ei, when shortened > ü (cf.

⁴² Monophthongization of ie > ī (üe > ī) in Fischart's rhymes is in contradiction to the situation in his dialect at his time, though today, through MG influence, Strassburg has monophthongization (cf. Krell, § 24; Bahder, pp. 29-30).

⁴³ Magdalena always writes i, ie (= i) for MHG ü, üe very much like Ayrer.

⁴⁴ Undoubtedly Magdalena's enpeuden 'entbieten' (orthographic eu for ei) is an example of Nürnberg's ei < MHG ie (cf. Koch, § 23, note).

Gebhardt, §§ 78, 80, 172, 173; cf. also §§ 24, 28, 52, 223); and MHG ü > ü, when lengthened > ü (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 64.1; 177-78, 244, 267.2; cf. also §§ 24 and 28).

6. The evidence assembled above demonstrates that Ay rer rhymes MHG i, ie, ü, and üe as an unround monophthong (i, ī) in the tradition of the literary language of Nürnberg. Furthermore, some of the rhymes (MHG i : ie; ie : ü; i : üe; üe : ü) are impossible as pure rhymes in the Nb dialect of Ay rer's time, for it lacked monophthongization of ie and üe. The rhymes MHG ie : ü; ü : i; i : üe, moreover, are impossible as pure rhymes in Bg, for this dialect lacked unrounding. Of the pertinent UG dialects of the modern period only BayFr and BS have both monophthongization of MHG ie and üe and unrounding of MHG ü and üe. It is quite likely that these northeastern UG dialects represent the dialectal basis for the i-rhymes of Ay rer. On the other hand, it is perhaps more probable that the dialectal basis is to be sought in MG which has ī, i, ī (<ie) for MHG ie, ü, üe respectively and which very likely brought about the situation that exists in BayFr and BS.

7. Special considerations:

a. MHG ü before nasal and in mügen.

1) With specific exceptions, Ay rer always rhymes MHG ü, üe before nasal as an i-sound (cf. catalogue of rhymes).⁴⁵ The exceptions, MHG künnen, günnen, mügen, moreover, occur with double forms, ü--ö; their frequencies are as follows: künnen, günnen =190, können, gönnen =3; mügen =46, mögen =5. Another exception is MHG versüenen 'versöhnen' which occurs once in rhyme with an e-sound (cf. catalogue of rhymes). Likewise, it is worthy of note that, whereas in Ay rer's rhymes the form son occurs more frequently than the form sun (cf. below, § 9.7a), only the form sün (never sön) occurs for the plural. Also, only künig occurs, never könig.

2) Sachs knows only i-pronunciation for MHG künnen, günnen, and mügen (cf. Sommer, p. 61; cf. also Neumann, p. 126, note 1; Bahder, p. 190). Harsdörffer rhymes künnen only with günnen, hence gives no indication of the quality of this sound (cf. Neu-

⁴⁵ This finding stands as a correction of Bahder's statement (p. 190) that ü-forms occur often in Ay rer's rhymes beside ö-forms. As a matter of fact, ü-forms are the rule and ö-forms occur but sporadically.

mann, p. 126).⁴⁶ S. von Birken rhymes künnen and günnen with both i- and e-sounds, while Omeis and Fürer rhyme mügen only with e-sounds (cf. Neumann, p. 126).⁴⁷ Harsdörffer, S. von Birken, Omeis, and Fürer rhyme mügen only with e-sounds (cf. Neumann, p. 21; Bahder, p. 190). Klaj, so it seems, knows only i-pronunciation for künnen (cf. Franz, pp. 222-23). The Silesians (Opitz always, the others usually) rhyme künnen and günnen with i-sounds while mügen occurs only sporadically with i-rhymes (cf. Neumann, pp. 123, 130). Fischart knows only the ü-form of künnen and günnen but beside mügen (: MHG kriegen) he has an occasional mögen (: MHG le-gen) (cf. Bahder, p. 191; cf. also Krell, §§ 9, 10, 26). Dürer writes künnen, günnen, and mügen (cf. Hartmann, §§ 41.2, 48). Paumgartner usually writes ö for these words but sporadic ü occurs (cf. Koch, § 10). Magdalena writes only künnen but mügen is spelled with i, ie, ü, and once with e (cf. Koch, § 10).

3) In UG, with the exception of Swab, MHG ü (üe) before nasal was retained (cf. Moser, § 74; Schmeller MB, § 28; Fischer, map 2; Bohnenberger, §§ 68, 104; Kauffmann, §§ 86.3, 98.2).⁴⁸ In MG during MHG times and in EFr and Nb about 1400 MHG ü, üe > ö, öe before all consonants (cf. Moser, § 74).

4) In present Nb MHG ü, even before nasal, > ü (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 24 and 64). The only exceptions to this are MHG künnen and mügen, which have e-pronunciation, while MHG günnen occurs with double forms, with both ü and e (< ö) (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 62, note, 64, 84.4, 381.2; cf. also §§ 281.6, 61.1 "Nachtrag," p. 327). In Nb MHG üe, even before nasal, > e (cf. Gebhardt, § 80). In present Bg MHG ü, üe before nasal > ü, ü (cf. Batz, § 62).

5) It is obvious from the above that Ayrer's use of ö-forms for MHG künnen, günnen, and mügen, occasional though it is, is evidence of a MG or Swab influence. It is furthermore evident

⁴⁶Neumann (p. 125 and note 3), basing his information on Harsdörffer's Nürnberg Trichter, III.II. 6, p. 35, which I have not seen, concludes that Harsdörffer pronounced MHG künnen as ken-nen.

⁴⁷Thus the older Pegnitz poets knew both i- and e-pronunciation of künnen and günnen, the younger ones only e-pronunciation (cf. Neumann, p. 226; cf. also Bahder, p. 190).

⁴⁸But by the fifteenth century ö (öe)-forms appeared in B. These were due partly to traditional heritage from the Prague chancellery language, partly to Swabian influence. Cf. Moser, § 74, p. 136.

that this influence was stronger in the Nürnberg literary language at 1600 (Ayrer) than at 1550 (Sachs) but was not as strong at 1650 (Pegnitz poets). So far as the present Nürnberg dialect is concerned, this influence is almost negligible.

b. $\bar{i} < \bar{u} < \text{MHG } \ddot{o}$.

Analogous to his rhyme MHG vorm : wurm which has been judged an $\bar{u}$: $\bar{u}$ rhyme (cf. below, § 5.7b3), Ayrer rhymes MHG vörm : würm and vörmen : stürmen once each as $\bar{i}$: $\bar{i}$ -rhymes. fürm for MHG vörm seems to be peculiar to NB and Nb; Sachs uses it (cf. DWb, 'Form'; cf. also Schmeller MB, § 327; Weinhold, § 33).

It must be stated at the outset that, since short vowel before r + consonant was lengthened in practically all HG dialects (cf. Ritzert, §§ 2, 4, 8, 19, 21a, 24b, 26, 36, 37, 45, 46d, 51, 63, 73, 82, 88), it is pertinent to consider lengthening of MHG short vowel in this position (cf. MHG vörm, würm) in the pertinent dialects. In UG, with the exception of EFr and Nb by the ENHG period MHG $\ddot{o} > \bar{e}$, when lengthened $> \bar{e}$ (cf. Moser, § 65). In MG by the ENHG period MHG $\ddot{o} > \bar{u}$. When lengthened, by ENHG times, MHG $\ddot{o} > \bar{u}$ in MG, EFr, and Nb (cf. Moser, § 73.2).

In present BayFr and southern UP MHG $\ddot{o}$ and $\bar{u} > \bar{u}$, when lengthened $> \bar{i}$ (cf. Schübel, § 10.lab). In present Nb MHG $\ddot{o} > \bar{e}$, when lengthened $> \bar{u}$ (cf. Gebhardt, § 62.1) and MHG $\bar{u} > \bar{u}$, when lengthened $> \bar{u}$ (cf. Gebhardt, § 64.1).

The evidence presented demonstrates that Ayrer rhymes MHG vörm : würm as an $\bar{i}$: $\bar{i}$ rhyme in the tradition of the Nürnberg literary language. It will also rhyme as a pure $\bar{i}$: $\bar{i}$ rhyme in BayFr and in southern UP. It is possible as an $\bar{u}$: $\bar{u}$ rhyme in Nürnberg at Ayrer's time as well as today.

c. $\bar{i} < \text{MHG } \bar{e}$.

Ayrer rhymes MHG beschern 'zuteilen' once as an $\bar{i}$ -sound (: MHG viern 'führen').

$\bar{i}$ for MHG $\bar{e}$ before r occurs frequently in Muskatblüt's rhymes (cf. Puls, pp. 17-19) and $\bar{i}$ for MHG $\bar{e}$ -sound (specifically $\bar{e}$) occurs sporadically in Sachs' rhymes (cf. Sommer, p. 57; cf. also Shumway, p. 94). Neumann (pp. 20-25, 100-101, 283-84) does not attest $\bar{i} < \text{MHG } \bar{e}$ before r in the rhymes of the Pegnitz poets. Magdalena sometimes writes $\bar{i}$ for MHG $\bar{e}$ before r + consonant (cf. Koch, § 3).

Just as in b. above, it is proper here to consider lengthened MHG $\bar{e}$ in the pertinent dialects. In B before the ENHG

period MHG e before r + consonant, when lengthened, > ī (cf. Moser, § 71.1; Schmeller MB, §§ 206, 207; Weinhold, § 18). In NB and Nb before the ENHG period MHG e, when lengthened, > ī before any consonant (cf. Moser, § 71.1). In present Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 56.1), in BayFr, in southern UP, and in BS (cf. Schübel, § 10.1b) MHG e, when lengthened, > ī (not as narrow as i) or i before any consonant. In present Bg MHG e before r when lengthened > ē (cf. Batz, § 47).

It appears that Ayrer's ī < lengthened MHG e before r + consonant may have its basis in Nb and NB: here ī < lengthened MHG e before all consonants is regular. Judged from the more frequent examples from Muskatblüt, from the occasional examples from Sachs, from the two occurrences in Ayrer's rhymes (for the second, see below, § 3.7d), from the three occurrences in Magdalena, and from the apparent total lack of examples in the rhymes of the Pegnitz poets, it appears that by the middle of the seventeenth century the literary language of Nürnberg had lost one of its early sixteenth century characteristics, the occurrence of i for MHG e-sound before r.

d. ī < MHG ê or ē < MHG i?

When Ayrer rhymes MHG êr 'Ehre' once with MHG ir 'ihr' he rhymes it apparently partly under MG influence either as an ī : ī or as an ē : ē rhyme.

For a detailed discussion of MHG ê and i in the dialects see above §§ 2 and 3).

In all MG territory in MHG times MHG ê before any consonant > ī (cf. Moser, § 76, note 7.1). Thus MHG êr > īr in MG. The lengthening of MHG i before r in monosyllabic words occurred in all the dialects (cf. Moser, § 49.II.1). In UG MHG i in this position was lengthened to ī. In MG i sometimes (specifically MHG ir) became e which, when lengthened, became ē; thus MHG ir > ēr in MG (cf. Moser, § 72 [p. 131]; Michels, § 85.1; Müller ZfhhdMaa, V [1904], pp. 353-67; Moser PBB, XLI [1916], pp. 444, 457, 460-61; Zwierzina Vom Werden, pp. 56-60).

The present Nb dialect has ēir < MHG êr (cf. Gebhardt, § 185.3b; cf. also §§ 24, 67) and īir < MHG ir (cf. Gebhardt, § 359). It is evident from this that Ayrer's rhyme is not based on the Nb dialect. Nor is it based on the Bg dialect for MHG êr and ir would likewise not rhyme here as a pure rhyme (cf. Batz, §§ 53, note 2, 68.1).

e. i beside ai < MHG ī in originally unaccented syllable. In Ayrer's rhymes 1) MHG -īn always > in:⁴⁹ nachbarin, esselin,⁵⁰ rubin, Pilgramin. 2) MHG -liche⁵¹ a) > -lich:⁵² adelich, äusserlich, bestendiglich, elendiglich, erlich, freundlich, fröhlich, gehorsamlich, mässiglich, ritterlich, tugentlich, etc.; b) > -laich (= orthographic -leich): fleissigleich, seuberleich; c) and the double forms: ewiglich--ewigleich. 3) MHG -riche⁵¹ a) > -rich: wüterich, Dietrich, Emerich, Salberich, Ulrich, etc.; b) > -raich (= orthographic -reich): fischreich, himmelreich, etc.; cf. above ai-rhymes). 4) Ayrer pronounces MHG Parīs with i-sound (Parīs).

The change of MHG ī to i in originally unaccented position in the above words is regular (cf. Paul, II, § 100 [Vol. I, p. 229]). ei < MHG ī in the words with -leich and -reich no doubt is due to the fact that in these words -leich and -reich were accented. Parīs (< MHG Parīs) very likely is due to newer association with the original French word which has ī.

f. MHG grifen.

Ayrer once rhymes MHG grifen (infinitive) as a long i-sound (: MHG rüefen).

Sachs has only ei-forms for the infinitive and the present plural (cf. Shumway, p. 23). Harsdörffer has the i-form twice: grieffen (with long i?) and griffen (with short i?) (Frauenzimmer Gesprächsspiegel, II, p. 327; V, p. 86); greifen in his usual form (cf. DWb 'greifen,' col. 15). An earlier (fifteenth century) occurrence of the i-form is attested for N. von Wyle (cf. Kehrein, I, § 96 [p. 64]), while it likewise occurs in the sixteenth century in Wickram (cf. DWb, s.v. 'greifen,' col. 15).

The ī < MHG ī in griefen, grifen 'greifen' is retained in the Swab dialect until the end of the fifteenth century, in Al until the sixteenth century, and in MG well into the sixteenth

⁴⁹Modern Nb has n (cf. Gebhardt, § 148.4a). According to Krell (cf. § 28), Fischart likewise has n.

⁵⁰This is modern German 'Eselin' < MHG esel-īn and not modern German 'Eselein' < MHG esel-līn.

⁵¹Muskatblüt has -lich beside -leich (cf. Puls, p. 29). Sachs likewise has -lich beside -leich and -rich beside -reich (cf. Frommann, p. 24).

⁵²-lich < MHG liche is the form behind Nürnberg's -li (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 137.5, 148.5).

century (cf. Hübner's treatment of 'greifen' in DWb, cols. 14-45, especially cols. 14-15). It is attested by Schmeller (cf. MB, § 244) as a southern UP form.

MHG grifen is not attested by Gebhardt for the present Nürnberg dialect. Were it recorded, it might shed some light on the pronunciation of the form in this dialect at 1600. Present Bg has graifm (cf. Batz, § 69.3).

g. MHG striten.

Ayrer rhymes MHG striten once as a long i-sound (: MHG vriden). Undoubtedly this is a similar case as grifen (< MHG grifen), that is, that Ayrer's striten is a form with undiphthongized MHG i. It is to be regretted that this word is not recorded for the present Nb and Bg dialects.

h. MHG ie 'je,' ie-weder 'jeder,' ieze 'jetzt.'

The rhymes show that Ayrer always pronounced these words which have initial MHG ie as vocalic i-sounds, never, as in ModGer, with a consonantal je-sound. They never rhyme with e-sounds (cf. catalogue of rhymes).

This is identical for Sachs (cf. Sommer, p. 67) and for Fischart (cf. Krell, § 24b) and apparently so for the Pegnitz poets (cf. Neumann, pp. 137-38). Dürer (cf. Hartmann, § 37 [p. 38]), Magdalena (cf. Koch, § 23), and Paumgartner (cf. Koch, § 23) seem to know only the vocalic i-pronunciation, to judge from their orthography.

MHG ie 'je,' ie-weder 'jeder,' ieze 'jetzt,' etc. retained their original vocalic pronunciation everywhere in HG territory throughout the entire ENHG period despite the usual orthographic j-. The pronunciation accordingly in UG was iə; in MG and the remaining territory that had monophthongization of MHG ie the pronunciation was i (cf. Moser, § 81, note 32; Moser Einf., § 63). In modern Nb as well as in Bg the vocalic pronunciation of these words is retained (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 78, 85, note 2; Batz, § 77.3).

i. i < MHG ë.

Ayrer uses töricht (MHG tôerëht) in rhyme only once and rhymes it as an i-sound.

Sachs likewise knows only i-pronunciation here (cf. Albrecht, p. 27). Modern Nb has -at for MHG -ëht but -i (< MHG -ic, -ec) can always replace it (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 148.13, 148.24b). Parallel to the situation in Nürnberg, it seems likely then, that the i in the literary -icht (< MHG -ëht) might be due to confusion

with the i in the literary -iX (ig) < MHG -ic, -ec.

j. ī (beside ai) < MHG -ie.

Significantly enough, Ayrer rhymes, with one possible exception, only certain words as ī-sounds that have the originally unaccented ending MHG -ie: glori, histori, memori, victori. These words also have i-sound in modern German. The exception is Lam-partei which occurs beside Lamparti. The former is a poetic form in modern German. Other words with the MHG ending -ie, on the other hand, have ai-sound: artznei, buberei, bulerei, cantzlei, partei, etc. These have ai-sound in modern German. A few other words which Ayrer pronounces with ai-sound have i-sound in standard German: fantesei, astronomei, copei, melancholei. The latter ei-forms occur in literary works well into the seventeenth century (cf. Paul, II, § 88, note [Vol. I, p. 222]).

Sachs (cf. Frommann, p. 24) as well as Fischart (cf. Krell, § 28) seem to have pronounced MHG -ie as ī in certain words, as ai in others. Apparently ī--ai forms for the same word do not occur in the rhymes of either poet (cf. Paul, II, § 88).

§ 4 o-sounds (=MHG ô, o, â, a; u): 7,447;78 rhymes

1. Table of rhymes:⁵³

⁵³ In this table 1) n = -m, -n, -nn; 2) a figure enclosed in parentheses represents the frequency of rhymes with on-pronunciation; 3) a figure not enclosed in parentheses represents the total number of o-rhymes, nasal included (= the figures in parentheses); 4) a figure enclosed in brackets represents the frequency of a-rhymes which have been considered under a-sounds; cf. above, § 1.

The juxtaposing of the figures with a particular rhyme-group in this table serves to bring out more clearly the relationship of the vowels in the rhyme ô(o) : â(a). Thus, for example, the table shows at a glance that of the 417 ô : a rhymes 416 are ôn : an rhymes; that 221;2 of the 225.2 â : o rhymes are ân : on rhymes; that all 23 ô : u rhymes are ôn : un (>on) rhymes; that of the 2302;14 o : o rhymes only 2 are on : on rhymes.

Whenever Ayrer rhymes MHG â(a) with MHG ô(o) he undoubtedly rhymes it as an o-sound; cf. below, § 4.3-7.

In certain instances even MHG â : â, â : a, a : a rhymes must be considered as o-rhymes. The determination of o-sound for these rhymes is suggested by the rhyme-frequencies and is supported by evidence from the dialects and from the Nürnberg literary language. The following rhyme-frequencies, for example, suggest that all of Ayrer's an : an rhymes are on-rhymes (here -n = -m, -n, -nn): -ôn : -ôn = 185;2, -ân : -ân = 2,932;41, and -ôn : -ân = 1,074;7. Since this suggestion is supported by evidence from the pertinent dialects as well as from the Nürnberg literary language, Ayrer's

	ô	(ôn)	o	(on)	â	(ân)
ô (ôn)	414;1	(115;1)	431;7	(68;1)	419;12	(343;4)
o (on)	431;7	(68;1)	2302;14	(2)	225;2	(221;2)
â (ân)	419;12	(343;4)	225;2	(221;2)	[1375;7]	(474;4)
a (an)	417	(416)	106;1	(98;1)	[2515;48]	(1706;37)

	a	(an)	u	(un)
ô (ôn)	417	(416)	23	(23)
o (on)	102;1	(94;1)	20	(19)
â (ân)	[2515;48]	(1706;37)	93	(93)
a (an)	[6671;43]	(752)	69	(69)

2. According to the above, Ayrrer rhymes MHG ô and o, MHG â and a before -m, -n, -nn always, before r, l, t, s sporadically, MHG u often before nasal and in MHG ingesnurrt, and MHG dâ and wâ as an o-sound in the tradition of the Nürnberg literary language. The rhyme MHG ô : o or the rhyme MHG ô(o) : â(a) is not possible as a pure rhyme in any of the pertinent ENHG dialects. Both rhymes, however, may rhyme as pure ones in the present Bamberg dialect under certain conditions (cf. below): here MHG ô and â > ā, and MHG o and a when lengthened > ō.

3. Muskatblüt rhymes MHG ô and o, except before nasal, MHG â and a before r and seemingly before t as an o-sound (cf. Puls, pp. 21-24). He rhymes MHG â, a, ô, o before nasal, according to Puls (cf. pp. 4-7), as an au-sound. Sachs rhymes MHG ô and o as an o-sound (cf. Sommer, p. 58) and presumably MHG â and a before nasal, dental, ch, and r likewise as an o-sound (cf. Sommer, pp. 52-53). Fischart rhymes as an o-sound MHG ô, o and likewise MHG â and a when they rhyme with MHG ô and o before nasal, liquid, and dental (cf. Krell, § 34). Harsdörffer apparently also spo-

-ân : -ân rhymes have been judged on-rhymes and have hence been included here under the o-sounds. On the other hand, it is evident from the following rhyme-frequencies that except in 26 rhymes MHG -ôt and -ât are different sounds for Ayrrer: -ôt : -ôt = 423;5, -ât : -ât = 1,182;11, -ôt : -ât = 26. This likewise finds support in dialect and literary evidence. Hence only -ôt : -ôt and -ôt : -ât rhymes, not -ât : -ât rhymes (as was the case with -ân : -ân above) are included in the o-sounds.

radically rhymes MHG â as an o-sound (cf. Bahder, p. 166). Dürer usually writes only a for MHG a, but for MHG â he writes both a and o before all consonants (cf. Hartmann, §§ 8, 31, 32). He writes o for MHG o and ô (cf. Hartmann, §§ 39, 40). For MHG a before nasal Magdalena writes o nearly always in closed syllable, in open syllable only in MHG manen and name (cf. Koch, § 1) and sporadically before l (cf. Koch, § 2). She writes o for MHG o (cf. Koch, § 6)⁵⁴ and also for MHG â before nasal. For MHG â before other consonants both o and a occur (cf. Koch, § 11). Paumgartner writes only a for MHG a (cf. Koch, §§ 1, 2); he writes a and o for MHG â but o occurs only in those words that have o in modern German (e.g., om 'Ohm,' ohne, monat) and in gethon 'getan' (cf. Koch, § 11). He writes o always for MHG ô and o (cf. Koch, § 6). In the Nürnberg chancellery language (cf. Bahder, pp. 32, 155, 160-61), in the Nürnberg carnival plays of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (cf. Michels Studien, pp. 117-18; Bahder, p. 155), in the Nürnberg chronicles as well as in the oldest Nürnberg printed texts (cf. Bahder, p. 160; Moser, § 75.3; Hartmann, § 8; Moser Einf., § 57) MHG â and a before all consonants are often written with o. Apparently with the exception of a in Dürer (cf. Hartmann, § 40), o was written for MHG â and a in Nürnberg territory since the end of the fifteenth century, but during the sixteenth usually only before nasal; in the Nürnberg rhymes it occurs before all consonants (cf. Moser, §§ 69, 75.3 and note 9; cf. also Moser Einf., § 57). Elsewhere, in the chancellery languages of Austria, Augsburg, Strassburg, of Alemanian, West and East Middle German, o occurs sporadically for MHG â and a (cf. Bahder, pp. 159, 165; Moser, § 69). The grammarians of the sixteenth century permitted orthographic o and a for MHG â in certain words (cf. Moser, § 75, note 8; cf. also Bahder, p. 165).

In the ENHG literary languages MHG ô and o, as a rule, retained their former quality (cf. Moser, §§ 73, 78) while MHG â and a often became an o-sound (cf. Moser, §§ 69, 75). The rhyme MHG â : ô(o) occurs frequently in Swab, Nb, EFr, and MG, is usual in Lower Al, seldom occurs in B, and never appears in Upper Al (cf. Moser, § 75, note 9).

⁵⁴Koch actually states that Magdalena writes o for MHG o except before m; he lists as examples, among others, words which have MHG u, e.g., kum, kumen.

4.a. In western MB, in ESwab, in western EFr (Würzburg) MHG ô > ou in MHG times (cf. Moser, § 78.3; cf. also Weinhold, § 57). In other sections of MB, in NB, Nb, and WSwab MHG ô > ou during MHG times (cf. Moser, § 78.3). In eastern EFr (Bamberg) and in MG MHG ô > û in classical MHG times (cf. Moser, § 78.2). MHG ô before nasal > ō and fell together with MHG â before nasal (> ō) in much of B and EFr in the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries (cf. Moser, §§ 75.2, 78.1).

b. In B during MHG times MHG o before r and nasal > q (cf. Moser, § 73.1), hence fell together with MHG a which had become q before r and nasal (cf. Moser, § 69). In much of B territory this q (< o) even became a as early as the twelfth century (cf. Moser, § 73.1). Orthographic a for MHG o was quite common in B, even in MG, during ENHG times. It was rare, however, in Nürnberg in the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries (cf. Moser, loc. cit.; Weinhold, § 6; Kehrein, I, § 40).

c. In B during the MHG period MHG â > ō before all consonants. This open o-sound fell together with original closed ô before nasals for only in this position had closed o taken on open quality (cf. Moser, § 75.2). Orthographic o for MHG â in B occurs usually only before nasal (cf. Moser, loc. cit.). In Swab during the second half of the thirteenth century MHG â > au; later, presumably in the fifteenth century, except before n, > ō (cf. Moser, § 75.3). In NB and Nb undoubtedly in MHG times MHG â > ō; later, presumably in the fourteenth to the fifteenth century, > ou or au (cf. Moser, § 75.3 [p. 146]). In the Nürnberg documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries orthographic o appears for MHG â before all consonants, just as in MG and in the remaining transition territories (cf. Moser, loc. cit.).

d. In Swab MHG a was retained as a (cf. Moser, § 69). In B towards the end of the twelfth century MHG a > q. In Nb, EFr, a great part of MG during the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries MHG a when lengthened > ō (cf. Moser, loc. cit.). This new ō did not fall together completely with original ô (cf. Moser, § 69, note 1). Orthographic o for MHG a appears frequently before liquid and nasal in B in ENHG times and in Nb and EFr during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It also occurs in Nb and EFr before labial, guttural, and dental (cf. Moser, § 69). o appears for MHG a well into the second part of the sixteenth century, principally before nasal, in the rhymes of those works that were

published in Nürnberg (cf. Moser, *loc. cit.*).

5.a. In present Nb MHG $\hat{o} > \underline{ou}$, when shortened $> \underline{o}$ (cf. Gebhardt, § 68); in Bg and WzbFr $> \bar{o}$ (cf. Batz, § 71; Schübel, § 9.7). Before nasal MHG $\hat{o} > \bar{a}$ in Bg (cf. Batz, § 71.3). In BgFr MHG $\hat{o} > \underline{uo}$ and $\underline{ou}$ (cf. Schübel, §§ 9.7, 10.1b); in BayFr $> \bar{u}$, in southern UP $> \underline{au}$ (cf. Schübel, § 10.1b).

b. In present Nb and Bg MHG $\underline{o}$ remained $\underline{o}$; before $\underline{r} > \underline{q}$ (cf. Gebhardt, § 60; Batz, § 55.1-4). Before nasal in some words, MHG $\underline{o} > \underline{a}$ in Bg (cf. Batz, § 57.2). When lengthened, MHG $\underline{o} > \bar{o}$ in Bg (cf. Batz, § 55.2) and $> \bar{u}$ in Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 60.1) as well as in BayFr and in southern UP (cf. Schübel, § 10.1b). MHG $\underline{o}$ when lengthened $> \underline{uo}$ in BgFr and $> \underline{ou}$ in WzbFr (cf. Schübel, §§ 9.7, 10.1b).

c. MHG $\hat{a} > \bar{o}$ in Bg (cf. Batz, § 65.1) and in BayFr (cf. Schübel, § 10.4a); in some words in Bg MHG $\hat{a} > \bar{a}$ (cf. Batz, § 65.2). MHG $\hat{a} > \underline{au}$ in Nb and southern UP (cf. Gebhardt, § 65.1; Schübel, § 10.4a) and $> \underline{ou}$ in BgFr (cf. Schübel, §§ 9.7, 11.3). In Nb MHG $\hat{a}$ before nasal $> \bar{oo}$ (cf. Gebhardt, § 65.2). When shortened MHG $\hat{a} > \underline{a}$ in Nb and in certain words in Bg (cf. Gebhardt, § 65.1; Batz, § 65.5). In certain other words in Bg MHG $\hat{a}$ when shortened $> \underline{a}$, in others, $> \underline{o}$ (cf. Batz, § 65.5). MHG $\hat{a}$ before nasal when shortened $> \underline{q}$ in Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 65.2).

d. MHG $\underline{a} > \underline{a}$ in Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 54.1). In Bg MHG $\underline{a} > \underline{a}$ and $> \underline{a}$ (cf. Batz, § 43.1-2) except in short unaccented words when MHG $\underline{a} > \underline{o}$ (cf. Batz, § 44). MHG $\underline{a}$ before $\underline{r} > \underline{qo}$ or $\underline{a}$ in Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 54.2). When lengthened MHG $\underline{a} > \bar{o}$ in Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 54.1), in WzbFr (cf. Schübel, § 9.7), and in Bg (cf. Batz, § 43.3a); $> \underline{ou}$ in BgFr (cf. Schübel, §§ 9.7, 11.3). MHG $\underline{a}$ before nasal $> \underline{a}$ in Bg (cf. Batz, § 43.3b).

6. Special considerations:

a. $\underline{o} <$ MHG $\hat{a}$ and $\underline{a}$:

1) in final position: Ayrrer rhymes MHG $\underline{d\hat{a}}$ and $\underline{w\hat{a}}$ as an $\underline{o}$ -sound, presumably with open quality.

Muskatblüt knows $\underline{o}$ -sound for $\underline{d\hat{a}}$ and $\underline{w\hat{a}}$ (cf. Puls, p. 6) as does Sachs (cf. Frommann, pp. 20, 26; Bahder, p. 35). Fischart apparently knows only closed $\underline{o}$ -sound for any MHG $\hat{a}$ (cf. Krell, § 11). Dürer writes only $\underline{o}$ for MHG $\underline{d\hat{a}}$ and $\underline{w\hat{a}}$ (cf. Hartmann, §§ 8, 40). Magdalena writes both $\underline{a}$ and $\underline{o}$ for these words, while Paumgartner never uses them in his correspondence to Magdalena (cf. Koch, § 11). According to Bahder (p. 160; cf. also p. 35; also

Hartmann, § 40) do and wo for MHG dâ and wâ are characteristics of both the Nürnberg chancellery and printer's languages and apparently of the Nürnberg literary language. These forms occur frequently beside da and wa in the Austrian and the Augsburg chancellery languages (cf. Bahder, p. 159) as well as in the chancellery languages of East Middle Germany (cf. Bahder, pp. 163-64).

2) before r: Ayrrer sporadically rhymes MHG â(a) before r as an o-sound: jâr (: kôr), narr (: tor); Baldemar (: vor); gespart 'gesperret' (: fort).⁵⁵

Muskatblüt (cf. Puls, p. 22) and Fischart (cf. Krell, § 34) often rhyme MHG â(a) before r as an o-sound. The rhyme MHG â(a) : ô(o) before r also occurs in Sachs' rhymes (cf. Sommer, p. 56). Dürer apparently writes o for MHG â(a) before r (cf. Hartmann, § 8).

3) before l: Ayrrer rhymes befal with soll, Gerwalt with solt.

Both Muskatblüt (cf. Puls, p. 23) and Fischart (cf. Krell, § 34) rhyme a before l as an o-sound. Magdalena sporadically writes o for a before l (cf. Koch, § 11).

4) before nasal:

a) before -m: Ayrrer rhymes krâm, kam, nam 'Name; nahm,' -sam, scham, stam with Rôm.

b) before -n: Ayrrer rhymes gân, hân, lân, mân 'Mond,' plân, stân, getân, untertân, argwân, an, ban 'Bahn,' kann, mann, zan with frôn, krôn, lôn, matrôn, persôn, schôn, trôn, etc., davon, won 'wohne.'

Muskatblüt often rhymes MHG â(a) with ô(o) before nasal (cf. Puls, p. 4).⁵⁶ Sachs most frequently rhymes these vowels before nasal (cf. Sommer, p. 52; Bahder, p. 35; cf. also Frommann, pp. 20, 25-26) and Fischart does likewise (cf. Krell, § 34). Magdalena nearly always writes o for MHG â(a) before nasal (cf. Koch, §§ 1, 11).

5) before labial: Ayrrer rhymes gehaben 'gehoben' with

⁵⁵ MHG gespart beside gesperret, gespert is regular for the participle of MHG spërren 'hemmen, abschliessen' (cf. Lexer; DWb 'spërren'). This a-form appears in the fifteenth century still with the usual meaning of 'spërren.' Schmeller (BWb, II, 681) attests o-forms for spërren in the Bavarian dialects.

⁵⁶ Puls, however, judges this rhyme to have a-sound.

loben and betraff with hof.

Muskatblüt (cf. Puls, p. 23) and Fischart (cf. Krell, § 7) rhyme a with o before b. Magdalena once writes ober for aber (cf. Koch, § 1.2).

6) before dental (d, t, s, ss): Ayrer rhymes MHG hât, gnâd, kleinât, mayestât, rât, tât with brôt, mânôt, nôt, tôt, got 'Gott'; stat 'Stadt' with brôt; blâsen with stôzen; and lâzen with grôzen, stôzen, brôsen (brôseme).

Muskatblüt once rhymes MHG hât with gott apparently as an o : o rhyme (cf. Puls, pp. 22-23). He apparently knows o as well as a-pronunciation for MHG blâsen (cf. Puls, p. 23). Sachs rhymes MHG ô(o) with â(a) before t and s (cf. Sommer, p. 52). Fischart apparently does likewise (cf. Krell, §§ 11, 34). Magdalena occasionally writes o for MHG â before dental (cf. Koch, § 1).

7) before g: Ayrer rhymes tagen with gezogen.

Sachs rhymes MHG a with o before g (cf. Sommer, p. 52). Magdalena once writes sogen for sagen (cf. Koch, § 1.2).

Of all the pertinent dialects, it is in B that MHG â(a) and ô(o) fell together as an open o-sound, and then only before nasal. In all other dialects and before all other consonants, there had been no complete falling-together of these sounds. It is obvious, hence, that Ayrer's rhymes of MHG â(a) : ô(o) before consonants other than nasal are literary ones.

b. o < MHG u:

1) before r: Ayrer once rhymes MHG ingesnurrt with verdorrt apparently as an o-sound. The form einschnorren occurs in the DWb and is explained as belonging to Middle Dutch insnorren. The single example quoted by the DWb is this very one from Ayrer. einschnorren is a compound verb of MHG snurren 'rauschen, sausen; schiessen.' An o-form, snorren, with the same meaning, occurs early in UG as well as in Burkhard Waldis' Epos. With an extended meaning of 'betteln,' it is used by Ave-Lallemant and Goethe (cf. DWb, IX, cols. 1417-1420). The o-form is originally Low German; it appears in Middle Low German beside snurren (cf. DWb). Schmelzer (cf. BWb, II, 580) calls schnorren a Franconian form.

2) before nasal: Ayrer rhymes kum 'komme' with rôm; sun, sunn not only with krôn, lôn, schôn, trôn, davon but also with gôn (<MHG gân), hôn (<MHG hân), etc. and with on (MHG an), konn (MHG kann), etc.; gewunnen rhymes with krönen, patrönen; kunt 'konnte' rhymes with bront 'brannte.'

For discussion of these rhymes, see below, § 5.7a.

§ 5 u-sounds (=MHG uo, u, û, o): 3,989;32;2 rhymes

1. Table of rhymes:⁵⁷

	uo	u	û	o
uo	1417;11	403;4	48;1	1
u	403;4	1553;13;2	7	526;3
û	43;1	7	33	2

2. According to his rhymes MHG uo, u, LMHG û in nur (MHG ne-waere), o in certain words, and û in foreign words are the same sound for Ayrrer. Orthographic evidence⁵⁸ supports this conclusion and suggests the nature of the sound to be the monophthong u.

3. Muskatblüt also rhymes MHG uo : u most probably as a monophthong sound.⁵⁹ Sachs (cf. Sommer, pp. 59-60; cf. also Moser Einf., § 11), apparently the Pegnitz poets (cf. Neumann, pp. 183,

⁵⁷This low number of uo : u rhymes, 403;4, is not due to a difference in the quality of original MHG uo and u for Ayrrer; it is, rather, due to a lack of appropriate uo, u rhyme words. For example: -unst : -unst =97, but there are no -unst : -uonst rhymes because there are no words with MHG -uonst. Again: -uot : -uot =573, while there are but 6 -uot : -ut rhymes simple because there are only a few words with MHG -ut (Ayrrer uses only the technical statut and the word jud); no -ut : -ut rhymes occur. On the other hand, when appropriate rhyme words exist, we get a different picture. Thus: -uots : -uots =25, -uts : -uts =17, and -uots : -uts =56. Again: -uos : -uos =29, -us : -us =52, and -uos : -us =81.

⁵⁸Ayrrer always writes u for MHG uo and u, for û in foreign words, and he very frequently writes u for o, usually before nasal. Conversely, he often writes o for MHG u before nasal.

⁵⁹Based on the evidence Puls presents (cf. pp. 25-28), this conclusion seems equally as valid as the one he draws, namely that the nature of the sound in the rhyme uo : u is a diphthong (ua), which makes it a NB rhyme. The conclusion that it is a monophthong rhyme finds support in T. Meyer who (cf. pp. 34-35; cf. also Moser, p. xxi) judged Muskatblüt's language to be EFr, not NB. And it is in EFr that MHG uo and u would rhyme as a monophthong rhyme (cf. above, § 5.4-5). Compare also the rhyme tuon : sun in Parzival which Lachmann, on the one hand, explains as tuon : suon, that is, as a Bavarian diphthong rhyme and which Gebhardt, on the other hand, explains as tun : sun, that is, as an East Franconian, specifically Nürnberg dialect rhyme (cf. PBB, XXIV [1899], pp. 407-408).

210-11, 225, 268, 271), and Fischart (cf. Krell, §§ 9, 25) rhyme MHG uo, u as a monophthong sound. Dürer always writes u for MHG u, even before nasal, and for MHG uo (cf. Hartmann, §§ 39.2, 41, 42). Magdalena likewise writes u for MHG u, even before nasal; but she usually writes o for MHG u before r + consonant and occasionally for û in nur (cf. Koch, § 8). She writes u for MHG uo except before nasal, when o is usual (cf. Koch, § 28; Bahder, p. 198; cf. also Gebhardt, § 79.2; Weinhold, § 300). Paumgartner, on the other hand, usually writes o for MHG u before nasal and u for MHG u before r + consonant (cf. Koch, § 8). He usually writes ue (= û) for MHG uo except before nasal, when he writes o (cf. Koch, § 28).

In the Nürnberg literary language during the ENHG period MHG uo and u are the same qualitative sound (cf. Moser Einf., § 11).

4. In UG as well as in western EFr MHG uo remained uo (cf. Moser, § 81.1). In NB and Nb during MHG times MHG uo > û which, by LMHG times, > ou (cf. Moser, § 81.3 and notes 17-19), while in EMG, eastern EFr during the MHG period MHG uo > û (cf. Moser, § 81.2; cf. also Bohnenberger, § 100; Kauffmann, § 97; Moser Einf., § 62; Fischer, § 35 and map 12). In UG MHG u remained u, even, in contradistinction to MG, before nasal (cf. Moser, § 74). An exception is Swab where MHG u before nasal > o by the fourteenth century (cf. Bohnenberger, §§ 59-60, 62; Kauffmann, § 81.3; Moser, § 74; Fischer, §§ 24, 44 and maps 2-3). In MG in LMHG times MHG u > o (cf. Moser, § 74; Moser Einf., § 55). In EFr and Nb in classical MHG times MHG u before r + consonant > o (cf. Moser, § 74).

5. In present Nb MHG uo > ou, except in tû (< MHG tuon), when shortened > u; before n > û, when shortened > u (cf. Gebhardt, § 79.1-2). In Nb MHG u, even before n, > u; before r > o; when lengthened, even before r, > û (cf. Gebhardt, § 63.1-2; cf. also § 24). In BayFr, BgFr, and Bg, that is, in eastern EFr, MHG uo > û (cf. Schübel, §§ 10.4a, 11.1; Batz, §§ 78-79). In Bg MHG u, even before n, > u, but before r > u or o, depending upon the word. When lengthened, even before r, MHG u > û (cf. Batz, §§ 59-61).

6. The evidence demonstrates that Ayser rhymes MHG uo and u as an u-sound in the tradition of Nürnberg's literary language of ENHG times. The rhyme is impossible as a pure rhyme in Nürnberg's dialect both for the ENHG and the present time. The dia-

lect basis for the rhyme is probably eastern EFr, where MHG uo > ū and MHG u > u with the one exception, namely before r, where u > o.

7. Special considerations:

a. MHG uo, u before nasal.

1) In Ayrrer's rhymes MHG uo before nasal is monophthongized to ū or u. MHG u before nasal usually remains u, sometimes > o; in some cases both u and o-forms appear:

a) uo: rum 'Ruhm,' -tum (heylichtum, keisertum), blumen, mumen 'Mutterschwester,' hun 'Huhn,' hunen 'Hühner,' tun, tunen (cf. catalogue of rhymes), stund (preterite of 'stehen'), stunden 'standen.'

b) MHG u remains u in the following: dumm, frumm, krumm, stumm, sum, brummen, drummen (pl. 'Trommel'), darummen, kummen, lumpen, schlumpen, nun, sun, sunn, wunn, brunnen, gebrunnen, nunnen, entrunnen, gespunnen, sunnen, besunnen, gewunnen, bund, kunt, gesund, grund, stund 'Stunde,' sund 'Sünde,' jetzund, gebunden, gefunden, kunden, kunten, geschwunden, stunden, gesunden, wunden, überwunden, Lunden, aufmunter, plunder, besunder, jetzunder, wunder, hundert, gesundert, besundert 'besonders,' verwundert, brunst, gunst, sunst, kunst, dunst, jung, genung, etc., trunk, gedrungen, jungen, verschlungen, gesprungen, gesungen, zungen, bezwungen, bedunken, versunken, etc., zukunft, vernunft, zunft.

c) MHG u > o in the following words; these o-forms occur beside the original u-forms: kum (248 occurrences)--kom (one occurrence), kumen (over 675 occurrences); komen does not occur (cf. below, § 5.7b); sun 'Sohn' (5 occurrences)--son (39 occurrences).

2) For MHG uo and u before nasal Muskatblüt knows only u-pronunciation; o-forms occur often, but this is Franconian orthography for MHG uo (cf. Puls, pp. 24-28; cf. also above, § 5 note 59). Sachs has only u, except the double forms sun--son (cf. Bahder, p. 190). Dürer seems to write only u (cf. Hartmann, §§ 39.2, 41, 42). Magdalena often writes o for MHG uo before nasal (cf. Koch, § 28) but only u for MHG u (cf. Koch, § 8). Paumgartner has o for MHG u and uo before nasal more often than he has u (cf. Koch, §§ 8, 28). Fischart occasionally rhymes MHG -uon with -ôn and -un with -ôn but generally MHG u before nasal remained u (cf. Krell, § 34). Fischart, furthermore, has the following double forms: sun--son, sunne--sonne, brunnen--bronnen (cf. Krell, § 9.1b). The Pegnitz poets seem to have o-forms for MHG u before nasal in agreement with ModGer (cf. Neumann, pp. 158-59).

3) In eastern EFr and EMG MHG uo before nasal > û during the MHG period (cf. Moser, § 81.2); but in the fifteenth century in eastern EFr o-forms were already current in words that had original uo. This was due to Bavarian-Nürnberg influence (cf. Moser, § 81, note 14). In B, with the exception of NB, about 1225 and in Swab about 1265 MHG uo before nasal > oə which usually appears written as o (cf. Moser, § 81, note 6). In NB and Nb in MHG times MHG uo, even before nasal, > û which, by the ENHG period, > ou (cf. Moser, § 81.3). It cannot be definitely determined whether the o-forms for MHG uo before nasal which appear in the rhymes of the fifteenth and sixteenth century poets represent a shortened writing for the Nürnberg dialect's diphthong ou (< MHG uo) or a borrowing of B and MG o-forms (cf. Moser, § 81, note 20).

4) For MHG uo and u before nasal in the pertinent modern dialects see above, § 5.5.

5) It follows from the above that Ayrrer rhymes MHG uo and u before nasal as an u-sound wholly in keeping with the tradition of the Nürnberg literary language of his time. Here, with the exception of son beside sun, only u-forms occur.

b. u < MHG o:

1) genumen⁶⁰ (< MHG genomen).

Since Ayrrer regularly retains u before nasal (cf. above), the 463 rhymes of MHG kumen with MHG genomen together with the fact that kumen occurs 215 times in rhyme with MHG u indicates that these two words rhyme not as o : o rhymes, but as u : u rhymes.⁶¹ Furthermore, u-sound for genomen seems to be certified by the 24 rhymes of genomen with other MHG words with u (cf. catalogue of rhymes). It seems hardly likely, hence, that Ayrrer knew double forms (u and o) for both MHG kumen and genomen, despite the "evidence" from orthography (cf. note 61).

Muskatblüt (cf. Puls, p. 24) and Sachs (cf. Sommer, p. 60;

⁶⁰This u-form most likely owes its origin to analogic new-formation rather than to regular phonological change: analogy to such forms as geschwummen, gekummen (cf. Gebhardt, § 163.1d).

⁶¹From orthographic evidence one might come to a different conclusion, namely, that kumen : genomen rhyme as an o : o rhyme, for Ayrrer rhymes orthographic kumen : genumen 35 times, komen : genomen 422 times, kumen : gemonen 6 times. But since we have to cope with printers' orthography, such evidence cannot be considered valid for the determination of the quality of the sound. On this point cf. Bahder, p. 190.

Bahder, p. 190; Shumway, pp. 92-93; cf. also Frommann, p. 27) have only u-forms for both MHG kumen and genomen. Magdalena always writes kumen and genumen while Paumgartner writes komen and genohmen (cf. Koch, § 6). Dürer has only genumen and kumen (cf. Hartmann, § 41). Present Nb has u-form (gyuma) for MHG genomen (cf. Gebhardt, § 91 "Nachtrag," p. 330; § 163.1d).

It is evident from the above that the rhyme genumen : kumen is a literary rhyme which undoubtedly has its basis in the Nürnberg dialect.

2) dunder (< MHG doner).

This word, which Ayrer uses 8 times in rhyme, undoubtedly is a literary form for Ayrer which he may have gotten from Swab-Al where, since LMHG times, it appears in exactly the same form: dunder (cf. Moser, § 73, note 2). It is not unusual, hence, to find it in Fischart's rhymes: dunder : wunder (cf. Krell, § 9.1b).⁶² -MHG doner is not attested for Nürnberg's dialect nor have I been able to find it in Muskatblüt, Sachs, the Pegnitz poets, Magdalena, Paumgartner, or Dürer.

3) fūrm (< MHG vorm); tūr beside tōr (< MHG tor); vūr beside vōr (< MHG vor).

Ayrer rhymes MHG vorm with MHG sturm and wurm; he rhymes MHG tor and vor once each with LMHG ûr(e) 'Uhr,' otherwise MHG vor and tor rhyme as o-sounds.

Sachs also has the form furm (cf. Frommann, p. 30); it seems to be peculiar to Nürnberg during the ENHG period (cf. DWb 'Form').

In MHG times in Nb, in EFr, and in most of MG MHG o before r, when lengthened, > ū (cf. Moser, § 73.2). This situation is reflected in the rhymes of the Nürnberg poets into the sixteenth century (cf. Moser, loc. cit.). In Nb today MHG o before r when lengthened > uə = over-long u (cf. Gebhardt, § 60.1). In this dialect MHG u when lengthened likewise > ū (cf. Gebhardt, § 63.1). In present Bg MHG o before r when lengthened > ō (cf. Batz, § 55.2). In UG territory, including Nb, û in LMHG ûre was not diphthongized to au (cf. Paul, II, § 68 [Vol. I, p. 202]).

In present Nb MHG wurm appears as wūzīm, but MHG sturm is šturm (product of the literary language?). Though MHG vorm is not

⁶²Krell (loc. cit.) mistakenly ascribes MHG u to Fischart's dunder.

attested by Gebhardt for Nb we may deduce from the forms dūāzn (MHG dorn), hūāzn (MHG horn), khūāzn (MHG korn), tsūāzn (MHG zorn) (cf. Gebhardt, § 130.A.1c [p. 334]) that MHG vorm would have the form fūāzm in modern Nb. In Nb, furthermore, MHG vor appears as fūāz (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 63.1, 130.A.10 [p. 335]). Gebhardt does not attest MHG tor for Nb, but, on the basis of fūāz for MHG vor, we might expect Nb to have tūāz.

According to the evidence presented in the above, it seems conclusive that Ayser rhymes MHG tor, vor : ûr(e); vorm : sturm, wurm as û : û rhymes. The basis for these rhymes lies in the Nb dialect. But MHG vorm : wurm is also a Nb literary rhyme (cf. above). On the other hand, there exists the possibility that Ayser, besides knowing the Bg form ûr (cf. Batz, § 170.1e),⁶³ also knew the form ôr for LMHG ûre (Latin hora), for the form (h)or occurs in Luther (cf. Kluge, 'Uhr') and or, presumably with long o, occurs in Dürer as well as in other early Nürnberg writers (cf. Hartmann, § 40.2). In such an event, tor, vor : (Nb) ôr would be an ô : ô rhyme, with tor and vor retaining literary o-sound in lengthened form.

4) sūlen (< MHG soln): one occurrence.

Ayser undoubtedly rhymes MHG buolen 'buhlen' and soln 'im Kot herumwälzen' as a pure û : û rhyme. As such it can be explained as a mixture of the Nb dialect (MHG soln > *sūln)⁶⁴ with the dialects of MG, eastern EFr, and the Nb literary language (MHG buolen > būlen). It would be a pure rhyme in the northern and northeastern part of Bg where MHG uo > û and MHG o when lengthened > û (cf. Batz, §§ 55, note 1, 78.1).⁶⁵ In present Nb MHG o when lengthened > û, but MHG uo > ou. The latter change occurred as early as LMHG times (cf. Moser, § 81.3). Hence MHG buolen : soln would be impossible as a pure rhyme in the Nb dialect, both for ENHG times as well as for the present day.

5) wult (< MHG wolt 'ihr wollt'): one occurrence.

⁶³ LMHG ûre is not attested for Nb.

⁶⁴ MHG soln is not recorded for present Nb by Gebhardt. For the above reconstructed form compare Nürnberg's hūlp (MHG hol[e]n) and kstūlp (MHG gestol[e]n); cf. Gebhardt, §§ 95.1 "Nachtrag," p. 330; 126.5.

⁶⁵ This is the section of Bamberg inhabited by the city's fishermen and gardeners. Their dialect is in many respects markedly different from that of Bg itself. Cf. Batz, § 2 and note 2.

Ayrer rhymes MHG wolt with schult 'Schuld.' This is undoubtedly a pure u : u rhyme.⁶⁶ If it is, it can be explained as a Nb dialect rhyme, for modern Nb has šuld (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 298, 112.3c) and presumably *wult, though this exact form is not attested for Nb, since the dialect has wuln beside woln (cf. Gebhardt, § 60.3). In this connection, it may be noted that where double forms, o and u, formerly existed in Nb, the present Nb dialect usually has only the u-forms (cf. Gebhardt, § 60.3). This situation is apparently identical in modern Bg (cf. Batz, § 59).

6) versuffen (<MHG versofoen): once, beside over 50 occurrences of gesoffen.

Sachs, with one exception (gesoffen), always uses the form with u (cf. Shumway, p. 51). Magdalena has only the o-form (cf. Koch, § 6). Modern Nb has both ksofm and ksufm, the latter by analogy to such words which have u in the Nb dialect, as, for example, khuma 'gekommen,' kšuma 'geschwommen,' gyuma 'genommen,' etc. (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 60.3, 397, note 1). Present Bg has only the form with u (gsufm), also by analogy to words with u: goruna, gswuma, etc. (cf. Batz, §§ 56, note 1, 60).

From this it is evident that the u in gesuffen is not due to a phonological change of MHG o > u but rather, it is due to analogic new-formation.

It is noteworthy that the double forms, u and o, for MHG gesofen in modern Nb are attested for the Nürnberg literary language in ENHG times: Sachs almost exclusively uses the u-form, Ayrer almost exclusively uses the o-form.

7) betrug (<MHG betroc): ten occurrences.

Ayrer undoubtedly rhymes MHG betroc 'Betrug' with MHG ge-nuoc, kluoc, and phluoc as a pure ū : ū rhyme. Since MHG o when lengthened > ū in Nb, it is quite possible that Ayrer's betrug is a Nb dialect form. In that case the rhyme in question would be partly Nb (o > ū, but MHG uo > ou) and partly eastern EFr as well as MG (MHG uo > ū).⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Fischart has the identical rhyme but Krell (§ 34) explains it as an o : o rhyme, since in the Strassburg dialect MHG u has an open pronunciation and is thus closer to o.

⁶⁷ On the other hand, Ayrer's betrug beside MHG betroc might be a LMHG analogic form: analogy to LMHG verzuc beside MHG verzoc.

b. Diphthongs

§ 6 ai-sounds (=MHG f, fe, ei, iu, û, öü):
7,767;79;1 rhymes

1. Table of rhymes:

	<u>f</u>	<u>fe</u>	<u>ei</u>	<u>iu</u>	<u>û</u>	<u>öü</u>
<u>f</u>	4491;40;1	110;5	1159;23	571;7	29	95
<u>fe</u>	110;5	2	11	7	...	...
<u>ei</u>	1159;23	11	781;2	79	10	78
<u>iu</u>	571;7	7	79	252;1	29	51;1
<u>û</u>	29	...	10	29	5	1
<u>öü</u>	95	...	78	51;1	1	6

2. According to his rhymes, MHG f (= original f and f < ib1), fe, ei (= original ei and ei < eg1, ag1), iu (= OHG iu, mutated and unmutated), û (= mutation of MHG û), and öü (= mutation of MHG ou) are the same sound for Ayrrer. The evidence below demonstrates the nature of this sound to be the diphthong ai.

3. The above MHG sounds are likewise the same ai-sound in the rhymes of Sachs (cf. Sommer, p. 61; cf. also Moser Einf., pp. 62-64), of the Pegnitz poets (cf. Neumann, p. 107), of Klaj (cf. Franz, p. 222), and of Fischart (cf. Krell, §§ 14, 18-21, 23). Magdalena writes ei, ey, and occasionally eu for MHG f, ei, iu, û, and öü (cf. Koch, §§ 18, 21, 22, 24, 27). Paumgartner writes ei for MHG f, ai for MHG ei, eu for MHG iu, and äu for MHG û and öü (cf. Koch, §§ 18, 21, 22, 24, 27). Muskatblüt keeps apart MHG f, ei on the one hand and MHG iu, û, öü on the other (cf. Puls, pp. 28-30, 33-35). He rhymes MHG f, ei : iu, öü only five times (cf. Puls, p. 31). Opitz rhymes MHG f and ei with öü but not with iu (and û ?) (cf. Jellinek PBB, XL [1917-1918], pp. 286-96, especially p. 295).

4.a. In NB (about 1200), Nb (1250), EFr (1300), NESwab (1350) MHG f > ei or äi and MHG û > öü or äu (cf. Moser, § 77.1; Weinhold, §§ 70, 78, 84-85, 100, 104; Moser Einf., §§ 58, 61, 64; Schatz, § 10; Michels, § 91.1a; Fischer, § 30 and map 13; Brenner, p. 31). These diphthongs, ei and äi (< MHG f), öü and äu (< MHG û) originally had the sound ei and öü respectively but they soon became äi-ai, eü-äu-au (cf. Moser, § 77.1); the former (ei and öü)

are closed, the latter are open sounds. MHG original öü fell together with diphthongized MHG û (> öü-äü) in many dialects but only in some as an ai-sound. MHG ei fell together with diphthongized MHG î (> ei-äi) in many dialects but only in EFr as an ai-sound (cf. Moser, § 77.1 [p. 158]).

b. In EFr during MHG times MHG iu (as in hiute 'heute') fell together with MHG û and hence > öü-äü (cf. above; cf. also Moser, § 82.1). In B entirely, in Swab only before nasal MHG iu > ui about 1050-1100 which later, in the twelfth century, > oi (cf. Moser, § 82.2 [pp. 209, 211-12]). In B, Nb, Swab, and part of EFr MHG iu when mutated (as in liute 'Leute') fell together with MHG û during the MHG period and was diphthongized with it to öü-äü (cf. Moser, § 63; Michels, § 67.e; Behaghel, § 252.6). In B, Nb, EFr and Swab MHG iu + w (written ew: blewen, kewen) remained iu until the end of the ENHG period (cf. Moser, § 82.3). In MG during MHG times MHG iu + w fell together with MHG û + w and was diphthongized with it to au (written aw: blawen, kawen) (cf. Moser, loc. cit.).

c. In B and Swab during the MHG period MHG ei > ai and MHG öü > äü or aü (cf. Moser, § 79.I.1; Bohnenberger, § 75). Later in B (about 1350), however, this ai (< MHG ei) became oɔ (written ae). In the Bavarian cities, however, it became ā in the twelfth century (cf. Moser, § 79, note 6; Weinhold, §§ 39, 44, 108, 258; Schatz, § 13; Luebke, § 75, note, § 76; Brenner, p. 31). In eastern and southern EFr and in Nb about 1190 MHG ei > ai and MHG öü > aü; later, in the fourteenth century, both ai (< MHG ei) and aü (< MHG öü) > ā (cf. Moser, § 79.II.2; Weinhold, § 40; Kehrein, I, § 42; Michels, § 98).⁶⁸

d. In B during LMHG times ei < MHG egi fell together with ei < MHG î, and ai < MHG agi fell together with ai < MHG ei. Though different sounds in the dialects, ei (< MHG î, egi) and ai (< MHG ei, agi) fell together as an ai-sound in the literary languages of UG and MG during the ENHG period (cf. Moser, § 79, note 27, § 67.1; Michels, § 32; Bartsch Germania, XXIV, p. 198; Brenner PBB, XIX, p. 481; Ehrismann PBB, XXII, p. 273, Bahder ZfdPh, XII, p. 485; Zwierzina ZfdA, XLIV, pp. 345 ff.; Brenner, p. 31).

⁶⁸ a for MHG ei as well as öü, as a matter of fact, occurs sporadically in the rhymes of other Nb poets of the ENHG period (cf. Moser, § 79.II.2). It has already been shown (cf. above, § 1.7b), that Ayrrer himself rhymes MHG ei twice as an a-sound.

In EFr as well as in EMG in MHG times MHG ei < MHG egi fell together with MHG ei and was monophthongized in EFr to ē, in EMG to ē. ai < MHG agi, a different sound, was not monophthongized in these dialects (cf. Moser, § 79, note 27, § 67.1 and note 2; Michels, §§ 32, 170; Zwierzina *Nspr. Studien*, pp. 122 ff.; Rückert, pp. 85, 94).

5.a. In present Nb MHG i > ai; in unstressed syllable MHG i is shortened to a (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 70, 71); MHG û > ai (cf. Gebhardt, § 75.1), û + w > āi (cf. Gebhardt, § 75.2); MHG iu > āü, iu + w > āü (cf. Gebhardt, § 76.1-2); mutated MHG iu > ai, mutated MHG iu + w > āi (cf. Gebhardt, § 77.1-2); MHG öü > ai, öü + w > āi (cf. Gebhardt, § 84.1-2); MHG ei as well as ei < egi, agi > ā, when shortened > a (cf. Gebhardt, § 81.1a). In certain words, usually before n + ich, + ig, MHG ei > ai (cf. Gebhardt, § 81.1b).

b. In present Bg the situation is very much the same as in Nb: MHG i > ai (cf. Batz, § 69.1.5); MHG û > ai (cf. Batz, § 74); MHG iu > ai, iu + w > āi (cf. Batz, § 75.1-2); MHG öü > ai, öü + w > āi (cf. Batz, § 85.2,4); MHG ei and ei < egi, agi > ā, when shortened > a; before ch and g MHG ei > ai (cf. Batz, § 81.1-3,5). This situation seems to pertain likewise for BayFr (cf. Schübel, §§ 9.1, 10.1a).

6. It is evident from the above that Ayrrer rhymes as an ai : ai rhyme MHG i, ei (=MHG ei and ei < egi, agi), iu, û, and öü in the tradition of the literary language of Nürnberg of his time. There is no ENHG dialect basis for this situation, for these sounds did not fall together in any of the pertinent dialects. In terms of the present day, Ayrrer's ai-rhymes would, with the exception of MHG ei, rhyme with each other as pure ai : ai rhyme in modern Bg. The ai-sound from MHG ei is a Bavarian element in Ayrrer's rhymes as well as in the Nürnberg literary language.

7. Special considerations:

a. ai < mutated MHG û, ou (beside unmutated forms, for which cf. below, au-sounds).

1) before original labial (written eu): seu (pl. MHG sû), gebeu (collective to MHG bû[w]); freuen, freude, streut; schleufen, streufen.

In UG MHG û as well as ou before labial were not mutated, while they were mutated in MG. EFr and Nb take a middle position with Nb leaning toward UG, EFr toward MG (cf. below, au-sounds,

§ 7.6b).

a) seu is UG, Nb, EFr as well as MG at the ENHG period (cf. Moser, § 61, note 1); gebeu is MG and apparently not UG at Ayrer's time (cf. Moser, § 61.2), hence for him very probably a literary form. These words have mutation in present Nb and Bg (cf. Gebhardt, § 75.2 and note 2; Batz, § 74).

b) Due to the existence during MHG and ENHG times of words with double forms, with both original OHG ou and ew, the forms freuen, freude, and streut are usual for UG, while the unmutated forms are the rule for MG (cf. below, au-sounds, § 7.6b; cf. also Moser, § 62; Bahder, pp. 221-23; Paul MhdGr, § 40, note 6; Moser Einf., § 68). Sachs, Harsdörffer, and Fischart (cf. Bahder, pp. 222-23) have mutated forms for freuen, freude, and streuen. Present Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 84.2) and Bg (cf. Batz, § 85.4) likewise have mutated forms for these words.

c) Though present Nb has only unmutated forms for MHG slöufen and MHG ströufen (cf. Gebhardt, § 84.1), the Nb literary language well into the seventeenth century apparently knew only the mutated forms (cf. Moser, § 79.II.2).

The ENHG dialect basis for Ayrer's seu, freuen, freude, streut is UG and most likely Nb and EFr in view of the situation in modern Nb and Bg. gebeu is literary, being appropriated from MG. His schleufen and streufen seem to be ENHG Nb literary forms.

2) before the agent-ending -âere: seufer, dockmeuser 'Schleicher.'

These mutated forms, exceptional for Ayrer, are properly MG, for during the entire ENHG period mutation before the ending -âere was lacking in UG while in MG it was nearly always present. In this respect Nb and EFr take a middle position, Nb again leaning toward UG and EFr toward MG (cf. Moser, § 57.1; Moser Einf., § 70). Unmutated agent-nouns with the ending -er seem likewise to be the rule in Sachs (cf. Moser Einf., § 70); they are the rule in the present Nb dialect (cf. Gebhardt, § 328).

b. ai < MHG iu + w.

In Ayrer's rhymes the following words with MHG iu + w > ai (written eu): neu, reu (reuen, gereut), scheu (scheuen, gescheut), treu (treuen), keuen (zerkeuen), bleuen 'schlagen' (bleut), bleuel 'Bläuel', beul 'Beule.'

All the HG poets in the ENHG period have eu (pronounced ai) in these words (cf. Bahder, p. 215). In UG, Nb, EFr during

the LMHG period MHG iu before w fell together with MHG û and was diphthongized with it to äü-äu (cf. Moser, §§ 63, 82.2-3). In MG during LMHG times MHG iu before w > û which later > au (cf. Moser, § 82.3; cf. also Bahder, pp. 214-16). In present Nb (with the exception of keuen, which has äü-sound [cf. Gebhardt, § 76.2]) and Bg these words have ai-sound (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 77.2, 170.13; Batz, § 75.2).

Hence, it seems that Ayrrer rhymes these words in the tradition of the HG literary languages of his time. To judge from the situation in the modern dialects, the specific dialect basis for these forms in Ayrrer's rhymes as well as in Nürnberg's literary language seems to be the Nürnberg and Bamberg dialects.

c. ai < MHG ie?

Ayrrer's rhyme of May (MHG meie) : nie is undoubtedly an impure one.⁶⁹

d. ai < MHG ê:

1) Gret 'Gretchen' : zeit (MHG zit). This rhyme may be a pure one. It would rhyme as such in the present Nb dialect: here MHG f > ai (cf. Gebhardt, § 70) and MHG ê > ai (cf. Gebhardt, § 67).

2) MHG vêl (< French fail) : MHG teil? This rhyme may well be a pure ai : ai rhyme, for, just like the ei in OHG weinag 'wenig,' the ai-diphthong in the French fail remained a diphthong in MG (esp. EMG) as late as the middle of the seventeenth century (cf. Moser, § 79, note 21). In present Nb the oldest people pronounce MHG ê as ai (cf. Gebhardt, § 67). On the other hand, MHG vêl may rhyme with teil as a pure ê : ê rhyme. In such an event, the rhyme would be MG: here MHG ei > ê and MHG ê > ê (cf. Moser, §§ 76, 79.II.1).

§ 7 au-sounds (=MHG ou, û, âw, au):
1,868;19 rhymes

1. Table of rhymes:

⁶⁹In modern Nb these words would rhyme as an ai : öi rhyme. As an exception to the regular phonological change of MHG ei > ä (cf. Gebhardt, § 81.1), present Nb has mâi < MHG meie (cf. Gebhardt, § 81.2), whose diphthong has over-open quality. MHG nie is not recorded for Nb. On the basis of nöimad < MHG nieman(d) (cf. Gebhardt, § 94.2), however, we may reconstruct for Nb the form *nöi, whose diphthong has closed quality (cf. Gebhardt, § 24).

	ou	û	âw	au
ou	309	463;3	3	...
û	463;3	1087;16	...	6

2. According to his rhymes, MHG âw in medial position, au in foreign words, and MHG ou and û are the same sound for Ayrer. The evidence below, supported by evidence from orthography,⁷⁰ demonstrates that the nature of this sound is the diphthong au.

3. According to the evidence Puls presents (pp. 32-33), MHG ou and û in Muskatblüt's rhymes also have au-sound.⁷¹ This is presumably the situation in the rhymes of Sachs and the Pegnitz poets,⁷² and, with the exception of a few double forms,⁷³ in the rhymes of Fischart (cf. Krell, §§ 14, 17, 22). Dürer (cf. Hartmann, § 43), Magdalena, and Paumgartner (cf. Koch, §§ 20, 26) write au regularly for MHG ou and û.⁷⁴ Nürnberg's literary language knew no distinction between MHG ou and û in the ENHG period (cf. Moser Einf., pp. 20, 38, 62-63, 65).

4. With respect to the pertinent dialects, MHG ou and û at Ayrer's time (1600) were apparently the same au-sound in Swab and B, except before labial and ch when MHG ou > ā in B and > ō (< earlier ā) in eastern Swab.⁷⁵ In the other pertinent dia-

⁷⁰Ayrer always writes au for MHG ou, û, for foreign au, and for âw in medial position.

⁷¹Puls is not clear whether the sound is the closed diphthong ou or the open diphthong au.

⁷²Bahder, Sommer, and Neumann neglect entirely to treat the poets' ou : û rhymes; presumably they take for granted that MHG ou and û rhyme as pure rhymes. Neumann, for example, merely relegates to a footnote (cf. p. 353) the suggestion (he presents no evidence), that the Alemanian poet Schneuber most likely does not rhyme MHG ou and û since he has kept MHG f and ei apart (cf. Neumann, p. 352).

⁷³Fischart has uff 'auf,' uss 'aus,' pruch 'Brauch,' schudern 'schaudern' beside auf, aus, etc.

⁷⁴Except uff beside auf in Dürer (cf. Hartmann, § 42).

⁷⁵Cf. Moser Einf., pp. 20, 38, 62-65 and §§ 58, 61; Bahder, pp. 31-32; cf. also Kehrein, I, §§ 108, 109.

lects, Nb and EFr, MHG ou always > ā (< earlier au) and MHG û > au and occasionally ou. The situation in the dialects in detail is as follows:

a. In B and Swab during the MHG period MHG ou > au except before certain consonants (cf. Moser, § 79.I.1; Moser Einf., § 61; cf. also Weinhold, §§ 69, 70). In B about 1300 MHG ou before labials and ch > ā which later > ō (cf. Moser, § 79, note 9). In eastern and southern EFr and in Nb MHG ou > ā by the fourteenth century (< earlier au) (cf. Moser, § 79.II.2; Weinhold, § 40); Kehrein, I, § 42; Michels, § 98).

In B (about twelfth century), Nb (1250), EFr (1300), NESwab (1350) MHG û > au and occasionally ou (cf. Moser, § 77.1; Weinhold, §§ 70, 78, 84-85, 100, 104; Moser Einf., § 58; Behaghel, § 385.8; Schatz, § 10; Michels, § 91.1b; Fischer, § 30 and map 13; Maurmann ZfdMaa, VIII [1913], p. 193).

b. In present Nb MHG ou > ā except before g and ch when > au; MHG ou + w > āu. When shortened MHG ou > a (cf. Gebhardt, § 83). In this dialect MHG û > au, û + w > āu; in unstressed syllable MHG û > a (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 73, 74). In present Bg MHG ou > ā except before w when > au; when shortened MHG ou > a or > a (cf. Batz, § 83). Here MHG û > au; when shortened > a (cf. Batz, § 73).

5. The evidence assembled above demonstrates that Ayrrer rhymes MHG ou and û as au : au in the tradition of Nürnberg's literary language of the ENHG period. The rhyme MHG ou : û is impossible as a pure rhyme in the Nürnberg and EFr dialects of Ayrrer's time: here MHG ou > ā. It is likewise impossible in many instances as a pure rhyme in the present Nürnberg and Bamberg dialects: here MHG ou > ā (except before w [Nb and Bg] and before g and ch [Nb] where ou > au or au). The dialect basis for the rhyme seems to be Bavarian: here MHG û > au and MHG ou, with certain exceptions (cf. above), > au.

6. Special considerations:

a. grauen beside grab.

In Ayrrer's rhymes MHG âw in medial position > au; in final position > ab (cf. catalogue of rhymes above).

Muskatblüt has gra, bla (cf. Puls, p. 6). Sachs has plab, grab as well as gra and graw, klawen, pfawen as well as pfaben (cf. Sommer, p. 53; Frommann, p. 33; Bahder, p. 35; Kehrein, I, §§ 110, 156). Magdalena writes plab and plob. The forms gra,

graw, or grab seem not to occur in the rhymes of the Pegnitz poets (cf. Neumann, pp. 192-96).

According to Moser (cf. § 75.2), who is not too helpful on this point since he does not specifically treat MHG â before w, MHG â > ō in B in the twelfth century and in EFr and MG in the thirteenth century; > au in Swab about 1250 and later, in the fifteenth century, > ō (cf. Moser, § 75.3); > ō in NB and Nb before the fourteenth century and later, after the fourteenth century, > ou or au (cf. Moser, loc. cit.).

It is the modern dialects which give us specific information with respect to MHG âw: in present Nb w in âw is lost in medial and final position and â > āu. Thus Nb grāu < MHG grā(w), blāua < MHG blāwen (oblique cases of 'blau') (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 65.3, 88.1). In B w in âw > b medially and finally, with the exception of MHG clāwe 'Klaue',⁷⁶ and â remained a monophthong. In modern Swab âw in final position > ōō (ō = aspirated p): blōō 'blau,' grōō 'grau' (cf. Kauffmann, § 61.3a), klōō 'Klaue' (cf. Kauffmann, § 144.2); in medial position the w in âw seems to have become b in Swab.⁷⁷ In present Bg MHG âw > au in medial position (cf. Bätz, § 65.3); âw in final position is not attested for Bg.

Accordingly, Ayer's grab, blab, pfab seem to be Bavarian as well as Swabian, not Nürnberg dialect features. His grauen is Nürnberg and Bamberg, not Bavarian or, presumably, Swabian. In other words, grauen seems to be a pure Nürnberg dialect form while grab, blab, etc. appear to be literary forms borrowed from Bavarian (and Swabian).

b. au instead of ai (written eu).

1) MHG ou, û before labials:

In Ayer's rhymes MHG ou and û before labials are mutated in certain words, in others they are unmutated, while a few have

⁷⁶Weinhold (cf. § 35) writes blāb 'blau,' grāber 'grauer,' lāber 'lauer,' pfābm beside pfām 'Pfau,' and chlā 'Klaue.' The loss of b in pfām is due to assimilation; the loss of b (< w) in chlā seems to be the only exception to the change w > b in Bavarian. For this last example Moser also attests the loss of final b (< w) for Bavarian. He, however, writes klō (cf. Moser, § 75.2; cf. also on this point, Paul, II, § 162 [Vol. I, p. 287]).

⁷⁷Kauffmann does not attest oblique case forms for the words in question for modern Swabian. However, he does record (cf. § 144, note 4) as Swabian for the thirteenth century the forms graben 'grauen,' plabs 'blaus.'

both mutated and unmutated forms. For the mutated forms see above under ai-sounds, § 6.7a. The unmutated forms are:

a) MHG ou: au, frau, frauen, schau, schauen, krauen, strau (< strouwe; Ayrrer also has stro < MHG strô), baumen, traumen, erlauben, glauben, rauben, tauben 'betäuben,' taufen, haupt. The following words occur with double forms: hauen (numerous)--geheuen (one occurrence), hau (2)--heu (5), kaufen, laufen, raufen (94)--keufen, leufen, reufen (6).

In Sachs' rhymes ou before w is mutated (cf. Bahder, p. 222), except, according to Shumway (pp. 132-33), in MHG houwen 'hauen' (but on this point cf. Frommann, p. 34, where geheuen = MHG geheuwen is attested for Sachs). In Sachs' rhymes MHG ou before f, m, and b is regularly unmutated (cf. Bahder, p. 217; cf. also Kehrein, I, § 109): Bahder attests one occurrence of leufen; Sommer, p. 61, records gleuben, treum, and beum; and according to Shumway, p. 134, Sachs has only lauft, never leuft. Harsdörffer has traumen beside zeumen and heu (cf. Bahder, pp. 218, 223). Fischart has strau, kaufen, taufen, but getreumt (cf. Krell, § 23b) and hau beside heu (cf. Krell, § 23a). Dürer has only unmutated forms (cf. Hartmann, § 49). Magdalena writes heu. Both she and Paumgartner have keiflin 'Krämerin,' a form which is still current in modern Nürnberg (cf. Gebhardt, § 84.1) and lauft 'läuft' (cf. Koch, § 27); Paumgartner has zaumen but getreumet (cf. Koch, § 27). Throughout the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century the unmutated forms of laufen, taufen, kaufen, glauben, etc. prevailed in the Nürnberg dialect (cf. Moser, § 61.2; Bahder, p. 217). Present Nb has the unmutated forms for the above words (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 84.1, 117.2, 132.1c) with the exception of heu (cf. Gebhardt, § 84.2) while double forms occur for 'läufst, läuft' (cf. Gebhardt, § 84.1). In exact agreement with this in every detail is the situation in present Bg (cf. Batz, §§ 83, 85.1.3-4 and note 1).

b) MHG û: saumen, zaumen, bauen, trauen, grauen 'grausen,' sauber, saubern, hauben, klauben, schnauben, tauben, schnaufen, haufen, saufen. Beside raumen (many occurrences) Ayrrer has reum 'räume' (one occurrence).

Sachs (cf. Sommer, p. 53; Frommann, p. 33; Moser Einf., p. 63 and § 67), with the exception of seuft beside sauf (cf. Shumway, p. 134), Harsdörffer (cf. Moser Einf., p. 65 and § 67), Fischart (cf. Krell, § 19; cf. also Bahder, p. 213), and both the

modern Nürnberg (cf. Gebhardt, § 73, note) and Bamberg (cf. Batz, §§ 83-85) dialects have only unmutated forms for these words.⁷⁸

Mutation or non-mutation of MHG ou and û before labial in Ayrer's rhymes is typically Upper German in character. Towards the end of the ENHG period MHG ou and û before labial appear unmutated in Bavarian, with the exception of seu 'Säue' and certain words that have the MHG double forms in -ouw, -öuw (cf. Moser, §§ 61.1, 62). This, for the most part, is likewise the case for Nürnberg, while in MG and for the most part in EFr MHG ou and û before labial were mutated by the end of the EMHG period (cf. Moser, §§ 61.1-2, 62.2, 79, note 26; Bahder, pp. 213-14; Moser Einf., § 67). Almost the exact opposite situation pertains with respect to words which had double forms in MHG, for example, houwe beside hewe 'Heu.' In such cases the mutated forms are Upper German while the unmutated forms are the rule in Middle German (cf. Moser, § 62; Bahder, pp. 221-23; Moser Einf., § 67).

2) MHG ou and û before guttural:

Ayrer has laugen 'leugnen,' taugen, and the double forms saugen--seugen (geseugt), augen--ereugen.

Sachs has laugnen (cf. Frommann, p. 33; cf. also Kehrein, I, § 109) and seemingly both saugen and seugen (cf. Sommer, p. 61; Bahder, p. 220). Harsdörffer has only the unmutated form laugnen (cf. Bahder, p. 221).

In UG and to a great extent in Nb MHG ou and û before guttural were not mutated during the ENHG period, while they were in MG (cf. Moser, § 61, note 9; Bahder, pp. 220-21; cf. also Moser Einf., § 67). Present Nb has tauŋ 'taugen,' lauŋa 'leugnen,' and saup (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 83.2, 398); the "half-dialect" (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 7, 10), however, has lœœŋa, with mutation under the influence of the literary language (cf. Gebhardt, § 83.2). Present Bg has mutation in lœŋa 'leugnen' (cf. Batz, § 85.2).

3) MHG ou and û before the agent-ending -âere:

Ayrer has rauber (3 occurrences) and raubern (dat. pl.; 2 occurrences).

Sachs (cf. Sommer, p. 61; Moser Einf., p. 63 and § 70; Bahder, p. 217), and Harsdörffer (cf. Moser Einf., p. 65) do not

⁷⁸Gebhardt (cf. § 75, note e and § 84.1) connects Nürnberg's unmutated rāma with LMHG roumen, not with MHG rūmen; Batz (cf. §§ 83.1, 85.1) apparently connects Bamberg's sāma with LMHG soumen instead of with sūmen.

have mutation before MHG -aere. Fischart has reuber (cf. Krell, § 23b; Bahder, p. 217).

Throughout the entire ENHG period the agent-ending -âere did not cause mutation in UG, whereas it did in MG, for the most part in EFr, and partly in Nb (cf. Moser, § 57.1; Bahder, pp. 217-20; Moser Einf., § 70). In present Nb 'Räuber' has mutation (cf. Gebhardt, § 114.2) though the rule in Nb is that the agent nouns in -er do not have mutation (cf. Gebhardt, § 328.1).

4) The form trau (=MHG triuwe 'Treue') occurs twice in Ayrrer's rhymes. This form is MG, for here MHG iuw during the MHG period > û which later, during the LMHG period, > au (cf. Michels, § 97; Moser, § 82.3; Bahder, pp. 214-16; Mertes ZfdMaa [1921], pp. 34-42; cf. also Weinhold, § 70). Neither Gebhardt nor Batz record MHG triuwe for Nürnberg and Bamberg respectively.⁷⁹

2. Quantitative Considerations⁸⁰

Ayrrer very often rhymes qualitatively similar vocalic sounds which, from the MHG point of view, would be quantitatively dissimilar, hence impure. From the standpoint of the pertinent ENHG dialects, specifically EFr and Nb, however, such rhymes seem to be perfectly permissible. It is these dialects which, under certain conditions, lengthened MHG short vowels and retained MHG long vowels and diphthongs on the one hand and, again under certain but not similar conditions, retained MHG short vowels and shortened MHG long vowels and diphthongs on the other hand.

When vocalic sounds of MHG dissimilar quantity, as, for example, a : â, rhyme together as a pure rhyme quantitatively for the poet, it is almost impossible to judge from the rhymes themselves whether they rhyme as a : a or ā : ā. Frequency of occur-

⁷⁹Nürnberg's words with MHG iuw have either äü or āī (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 76.2, 77.2); Bamberg has āī and āī (cf. Batz, § 75.2).

⁸⁰For lengthening of MHG short vowel and shortening of MHG long vowel and diphthong in general in the ENHG and modern dialects, cf. the following: Bahder, pp. 85-103; Behaghel, §§ 238-50; Elsässer; Moser, Literaturblatt für germanisch-romanische Philologie, XXXIII (1912), cols. 273-76 (this is a review of Elsässer's work together with a reorganization of his conclusions); Kluge ZfdWf, II (1902), p. 45-47; Kräuter PBB, II (1876), pp. 561-73; Michels, §§ 77-80, 87-90; Moser, §§ 49-50; Paul PBB, IX (1884), pp. 101-34; Ritzert PBB, XXIII (1898), pp. 129-222.

rences determines that a : â must be a quantitatively pure rhyme. This is the one service the poet's rhymes themselves render. But it is left to the dialects to demonstrate that the vocalic sounds in each short : long rhyme are both long or both short. To illustrate: bracht (MHG braht) : nacht (MHG naht) occurs, let us say, 25 times in Ayrrer's rhymes; it is, hence, a quantitatively pure rhyme. But it is an ă : ă and not an ā : ā rhyme because in the pertinent dialects (EFr, Nb, even B, during ENHG times and Nb and Bg for the present day) MHG a before cht (=MHG ht and ch+t) remained short and MHG â before cht (=MHG ht and ch+t) was shortened. Just the opposite pertains with respect to the rhyme MHG sach : nâch. This, on the basis of occurrences, is quantitatively a pure rhyme for Ayrrer, but it is an ā : ā rather than an ă : ă rhyme, for in these same pertinent dialects MHG â before final ch remained long and MHG a before final ch was lengthened.

When quantitatively similar vocalic sounds from the MHG standpoint rhyme with each other, no problem is presented. But when they do not rhyme together (MHG -ësen never rhymes with MHG -ëzzzen), this is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that MHG short vowel was lengthened in one instance (-ësen) but remained short in the other (-ëzzzen).

a. Short vowels

§ 8 Lengthening of MHG short vowels

Ayrrer lengthened MHG short vowel

1. In open position in agreement with all the HG dialects of ENHG times, Upper Alemanic excepted (cf. Moser, § 49.I) and in agreement with modern Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 123) and Bg (cf. Batz, § 131) as follows:

a. in final position always: geschah : Seculâ; sih : nie; du : zu. To be considered here also is geschri-en : ziehen.

b. before Gmc. single consonant + vowel, practically always:

1) before r: erfarung, narung, ernerer, beschwerung, zerung; rachgirig, begirig.

2) before l: taler, zaler; zalen (: mâlen), kelen, verhelen, stelen, befelen, zelen 'zählen'; spilen, vilen, befilen (MHG beviln 'verdrüsslich sein'), rülen (MHG rühelen 'röcheln' : brüllen); befolen, holen, verholen; umsulen.

a) zalen also rhymes with gefallen, verfallen. These words have lengthened vowel in MG (cf. Moser, § 49.II.3).

3) before m:⁸¹ namen, schamen; nemen, gezemen, gremen, schemen.

a) The rhyme neumen 'nehmen' : schwemmen (one occurrence) points to short e in 'nehmen'; this most likely goes back directly to MHG nēmmen, rather than to MHG nēmen. -The Nb dialect has both long and short vowel for this word: nēma--nēma (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 126.1-2, 24).

b) Short vowel seems to be retained in himmel (MHG himel : gewimmel and in kammer (MHG kamer) : jammer (MHG jâmer); Nb also has short vowel for 'Kammer' (cf. Gebhardt, § 126.1). -For shortening of MHG â in MHG jâmer see below, § 10.1b.

4) before n: sünen; bewoner, gewoner 'gewöhnen,' woner, ermanen, wonung.

a) sünen rhymes once with künnen. Most likely it is kün-nen which underwent vowel-lengthening, and that very likely by association with the lengthened ü in the short form, künn (cf. below, § 8.2b3).

b) Short vowel seems to be retained (in agreement with the Nb dialect; cf. Gebhardt, § 126.1) in the following: fanen 'Fahnen,' hanen 'Hahnen,' schwanen.

5) before b: haber, fabel, gabel, graben, haben, knaben, laben, labung, handhabung; eben, geben, kleben, leben, löwen, pfeben, schweben, streben, lebens, gebens; Tiber, übel, wibeln, grübeln, bliben, gebliben, geriben, gescriben, siben, getriben, etc.; kobel, loben, gehoben, oben, toben; stuben.

6) before d: hader, aufladern, adel, tadel, zadel, baden, faden, fladen, gaden, laden, pfaden, schaden; predig, beschedig, leder, reden; bider, glider, nider, sider, wider 'wieder; Widder,' glidern, erwidern, niden, verschiden, friden, abschiden; hudel, geschnudel, hudler (<MHG hudeler), sudler (<MHG sudeler), buden, juden.

7) before t:⁸² vater, gefater, schaten, staten, waten;

⁸¹This agrees, on the whole, with EFr. In Nb at Ayres's time, on the other hand, MHG short vowel in open position before nasal had remained short for the most part (cf. Moser, § 49.I.2). Short vowel under this condition is likewise the rule for present Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 126.1) as well as Bg (cf. Batz, § 134.1), though lengthened vowel occurs.

⁸²The same pertains here in the dialects as pertains be-

feter, ententreter, beten, gebeten, treten, freten, flöten; bütel, kittel, rit(t)er, biten, erliten, geriten, siten 'Sitten'; boten, verboten, gesoten.

a) MHG ritaere not MHG ritter is behind Ayrer's riter, for he rhymes it only with nider, wider.

b) If Ayrer's kittel, which rhymes with bütel, comes from MHG kittel and not from MHG kitel, then bütel as well as kittel have short vowels. -In the text both words are written with double dental.

8) before g: mager, lager, sager, schlager, trager, nageln, gageln, jagen, klagen, kragen, magen, nagen, sagen, schlagen, tagen, tragen, wagen 'Wagen,' zagen; leger, pfleger, kleger, schleger, jeger, belegern, flegel, negel, schlegel, vögel, fegen, gelegen, pflügen, regen 'regnen,' segen, stegen, wegen, Nordwegen, gegen, begegen, legen, regen 'sich regen,' bewegen, ratschlegen, mögen; schwiger, rigel, prügel, ligen, sigen, verschwigen, gestigen, wigen, zigen (part. MHG zihen 'sich einbilden'), mügen, tügen; bogen, geflogen, erlogen, gesogen, gezogen, etc.; zugen, jugend, tugend.

9) before h: aufseher, speher, schweher, jeher, geschehen, sehen, erspehen.

a) In the forms stahel, gemahel, schlahen, fahen the h most likely represents orthographic archaism, for this h was lost by contraction even in MHG times.

b) Short vowel before ch remained short: brecher, stecher, zecher, brechen, frechen, rechen, sprechen, stechen, zechen; gebrochen, knochen, kochen, gerochen, gesprochen, erstochen, wochen; also the present tense forms, kocht, mocht. These vowels remained short due to the fact that behind the ch in these words is the MHG geminate ch. This situation is in agreement with that of practically all the HG dialects of the ENHG period (cf. Moser, § 49.I.1) as well as with that of present Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 124.1) and Bg (cf. Batz, § 132.1).

10) before g: hasen, erblasen (MHG erblasen 'blass werden'), fasen, nasen; leser, verweser, besen, lesen, genesen, wesen, gewesen, lesens, wesens; risen, bewisen, wisen 'Wiesen,' gewisen; zuloser, mosen (pl. 'Moos').

a) gewesen rhymes 5 times (with short vowel ?) with ge-

fore nasal; cf. above § 8, note 81.

fressen, ermessen, vergessen; this is most likely due to association with gewest, wk. part. of MHG gewēsen, whose MHG short vowel seems to have been retained by Ayrer (cf. below, § 9.2h) although the Nb dialect has lengthened vowel (cf. Gebhardt, § 398).

c. But short vowel in open position remained short

1) before sch: aschen, flaschen, haschen, naschen, taschen, waschen; zeschen, leschen; drüschel, püschel, fischen, erfrischen, mischen, tischen, erwischen; also: erwisch, gefischt, erfrischt, gemischt. Short vowel here is due to the fact that behind sch is OHG sk. This is in agreement with practically all the HG dialects of Ayrer's time (cf. Moser, § 49.I.1) as well as with the modern dialects of Nb and Bg (cf. Gebhardt, § 124.1; Batz, § 132.1).

2) before f (=MHG v): hafen (MHG haven 'Hafen, Topf') rhymes with beschaffen and ofen 'Ofen' with hoffen, gesoffen. -Modern Nb has long vowel in these words (cf. Gebhardt, § 126.5).

2. In closed position:

a. in MHG monosyllabic words before single consonant in agreement with all the HG dialects of ENHG times (cf. Moser, § 49.II.1,10) and with the modern dialects of Nb and Bg (cf. Gebhardt, § 130.1; Batz, § 138):

1) before r: bar 'bloss,' gebar, far 'fahre,' gar, schar, war (MHG was), war 'Waare,' gewar; pfer, ber 'Bär,' der, er, beger, her (adv.), geschwer, scher, wer 'werde,' her 'Heer,' mer 'Meer.' ner 'nähre,' bescher, schwer 'schwöre,' wer 'Wehr'; begir, dir, ir, für, spür, tür, wür 'würde,' gebür, schmir, schwir 'schwöre'; empor, spor, tor, vor; wur 'wurde,' verlur, chur.

a) To be added here are the following verbal and nominal forms of the words above: (1) before -st: erfarst, warst, be-gerst, werst, ferst, nerst, spürst, wirst; (2) before -t: begert, nert, beschert, werd, wert, verert, ermört 'ermördet,' schirt, geschmirt; (3) before -n: farn, vorfarn, scharn, sparn, warn 'Waaren,' bewarn; enbern, begern, wern, bern 'schlagen,' ernern, kern 'fegen,' schwern 'schwören,' ermörn; schürn 'schüren,' gebürn, spürn, würn, schmirn; geborn, verlorn, geschorn, geschworn, torn, worn; wurn 'wurden.'

2) before l: überal, befal, labsal, sal, stal (pret. 'stehlen'), tal, wal, zal; befel, fel 'Fell,' mel 'Mehl,' quel 'Qual,' öl; stil 'stehle,' vil, zil, mül; hol 'hole,' kol, wol 'wohl.'

a) The following forms within the paradigm of the words above also belong here: erwelt, gezelt, spilt, spilten. spilt 'spielt,' however, also rhymes 8 times with words with retained short vowels such as bild, stillt, gilt.

3) before m: kam, nam, 'Name; nahm,' scham, bräutigam; dem, wem, grem 'gräme,' schem, nem (cf. Michels, § 78c); nim 'nehme,' im 'ihm'; kom; frum, kum, um. This agrees with the situation in the rhymes of the Pegnitz poets (cf. Neumann, pp. 189, 196, 225).

a) The following also belong here: nemst, schemst; nemt, schemt, nimt (: rühmt). There occurs also the rhyme nimmt : schwimmt. Here the i in nimmt is short; it undoubtedly goes back to MHG nimmt to nēmmen and not to MHG nimt to nēmen. It has already been pointed out that Ay rer seems to know both forms of this word (cf. above, § 8.1b3).

4) before n: an, ban 'Bahn,' lobesan, gespan 'Genosse,' gewan, zan; bin, hin, in 'ihn,' drin, freundin, Griechin, etc.; sün; von, won 'wohne,' son, nun, sun. The Pegnitz poets do likewise (cf. Neumann, pp. 145, 155-56, 158-59).

5) before b: ab, gab, hab, stab, trab; geb, leb, lōw; gib, blib, rib 'rieb,' sib 'Sieb,' schrib, trib, gelüb; grob, lob, ob. So also in the rhymes of the Pegnitz poets (cf. Neumann, p. 194).

a) Also in the following: habst (: papst < MHG pâbes[t]); long vowel is retained in this word in modern Nb; cf. Gebhardt, §§ 116, 148.20), ergerbst, lebst, gibst; lebt, grebt, gibt, verlobt, tobt.

b) The MHG short vowel in gelobt in the rhyme with verstoppt seems to have been retained.

6) before d: bad, gnad, lad, rad, schad; red; frid, unterschid; jud.

7) before t: bat, blat, glat, mat, stat, bestat; bet 'bete,' gebet, stet 'Städte,' bit 'bitte,' mit, nit; bot, gebot, Gott (MHG got); statut. Harsdörffer lengthens a before t while S. von Birken, Omeis, and Fürer seem to have retained short vowel (cf. Neumann, pp. 199-200).

8) before g: hag, klag, lag, jag, mag, sag, anschlag, tag, trag; steg, weg 'Weg,' pflieg, leg, verleg; sig 'Sieg,' obsig, verlig, müg; betrug, zug.

a) And in the following: klagst, magst, sagst, schlagst,

legst, tregst; gejagt, klagt, sagt, verzagt; sigs; kleglich, teglich, unvertreglich; sagten.

b) mag, tag rhyme twice with nack 'Nacken,' sack. Here the vowel in tag and mag is short, for when final g rhymes as a k-sound the preceding vowel, with one exception (so it seems), is short whereas when final g rhymes as a ch-sound, the preceding vowel is long; cf. below, § 20.2-3.

c) weg 'Weg' also rhymes twice with short vowel (and with k-sound). Usually, as is the case in the Nb dialect, Ayrer distinguishes between weg 'Weg,' which he pronounces with long vowel and with ch-sound, and weg (adv.), which he pronounces with short vowel and with k-sound (cf. below, §§ 20, 21).

d) An apparent exception to the above is the rhyme trog : bloch. Here trog has short vowel though its final g is pronounced with ch-sound: trog never rhymes with zog, flog, which have lengthened vowel, while bloch and the other words in -och have retained short vowel.

9) before h: geschech, sech 'sehe,' jech 'verjehe.' Here orthographic ch = MHG h.

10) before s: glas, gras, las, genas, was 'war'; erwis; mos 'Moos,' theologos, Delphos.

a) Also to be considered here, though they are not MHG monosyllabic words, are has 'Hase' and ris 'Riese.'

11) before f: traf; grif 'griff' (often written grief[f] [376.20; 2892.22; 2804.24; 2413.18]); bischof, hof.

b. in MHG monosyllabic words before MHG geminate in full agreement with Nb, EFr, B, ESwab during the ENHG period (cf. Moser, § 49.II.8; cf. also Behaghel, § 243) and to a great extent with the modern Nb dialect (cf. Gebhardt, § 130.2-3); retained short vowel is usual for present Bg (cf. Batz, § 140.2):

1) before ll: fall, gall, schall, stall; ungefell, hell 'Hölle,' geschell, gesell, verstell; still, will, erfüll; knoll, soll, toll, troll, voll, woll. The Pegnitz poets rhyme likewise (cf. Neumann, pp. 163, 165, 170).

a) The following also belong here: schellig, gefellt, bestellt; perhaps sollst, wollst, sollt, wollt; perhaps even sol-len, wollen, vollen, trollen.

b) hell 'hell' and schnell seem to have retained their short vowel.

2) before mm: stamm; grimm, ergrimm, stimm; dumm, krumm,

stumm, summ. Harsdörffer likewise lengthens short vowel before mm (cf. Neumann, pp. 189, 196, 225). The other Pegnitz poets seem to have retained short vowel (cf. Neumann, pp. 189-190). Remarkably enough, Neumann, having come to the above conclusions, judges Harsdörffer's rhyme stimm : ihm to be an ī : ī rhyme (cf. Neumann, p. 226).

a) Most likely also in the following: ammen, verdammen, zusammen, stammen.

4) before nn: dann, kann, mann, tyrann; sinn, gewinn, finn 'finde,' günn, künn; sunn, wunn. The Pegnitz poets seem likewise to lengthen short vowel before nn (cf. Neumann, pp. 145, 155-56, 158-59).

a) kannst, gewannst, gewinnst, however, seem to rhyme with short vowel.

4) before pp: Lipp (von der Lippe : dieb).

a) gesippt (: liebt, geliebt) also has long vowel.

5) before tt: brett, gebett 'gebetet,' bett, geredt 'geredet,' errett, wett, gewett, gespött; dritt; rott 'Schar,' spott. Also spöttlich (: tötlich). Harsdörffer rhymes spott with not as a long vowel; the other Pegnitz poets seem to have retained short vowel before tt (cf. Neumann, p. 206).

6) before ch: gemach, mach, sach, drach 'Drache,' wach, schwach, sprach, stach; brech, frech, sprech; dich, ich, mich, sich; bruch, geruch, spruch. The Pegnitz poets generally avoid rhyming -ach : -äch, but MHG nâch rhymes with both -ach and -äch (cf. Neumann, p. 175). Harsdörffer rhymes joch : hoch (with long vowel ?) (cf. Neumann, p. 223).

a) In äusserlich, freundlich, Ulrich, etc., MHG f > i which, in Ayer's rhymes, is lengthened to ī.

b) bloch, doch, joch, koch, loch, noch never rhyme with MHG hōch, flōch 'floh,' etc., hence their vowel seems to be short.

7) before ss: bass 'gut,' dass, fass, hass, nass, pass, etwas; fress, vergess; mess, possess; diess, wiss 'wisse,' gewiss, küss, schmiss, spiss; ross; beschluss, fluss, guss, kuss, schuss, verdruss, nuss. Harsdörffer, but apparently not the other Pegnitz poets, lengthens short vowel before ss (cf. Neumann, pp. 188, 210, 217, 222).

8) before ff: schaff; begriff, schiff, triff (often written with ie: 1687.3; 1835.18; 2235.25; 2865.34); loff 'lief,' hoff 'hoffe.'

c. in MHG monosyllabic words before two or more consonants, excluding geminates (cf. above, § 8.2b), and before r + consonant (cf. below, § 8.2d) in agreement with the dialects as above, § 8.2b: jagd; flucht 'Flucht,' frucht, sucht 'Sucht,' zucht; nutz, schutz, trutz. -The Nb dialect has šuts 'Schutz' (cf. Gebhardt, § 130.2).

d. in the following MHG monosyllabic words before r + consonant. Lengthening of a and e in this position is general in all the dialects, while the other vowels are lengthened for the most part in B and Swab (cf. Moser, § 49.II.2). Lengthening before r + consonant is the rule in the rhymes of the Pegnitz poets (cf. Neumann, pp. 283-84). The words in Ayser's rhymes are the following:

1) before rr: narr, pfarr; herr, blerr, ferr; ipr, geschirr.

a) To be considered here are the forms of the above words within the paradigm. Ayser seems to make the following distinction: (1) before rr+n or rr+t short vowel is lengthened if it is a or e: harrn, karrn, marrn, narrn, scharrn, schnarrn; narrrt, schnarrrt; versperrrt, even sperrten; (2) before rr+n or rr+t short vowel remains short if it is i or o: irrn, verwirrn; verdorrn, unverworrn; irrt, verwirrt; verschmorrrt, eingedorrrt, verdorrrt, ingeschnorrrt.

2) before rm (most likely, though it cannot be ascertained from the rhymes): arm, erbarm, darm, warm, barben (>barm); würm, fürm; sturm, wurm, furm.

a) The forms armen, erbarmen; fürmen, stürmen likewise may have lengthened vowel.

3) before rn: garn, ern 'Erden,' gern, latern, stern; birn, dirn, hirn, irn 'ihren,' gestirn, zwirn; horn, korn, zorn; hurn, turn 'Turm.'

a) Also with lengthened vowel: garnen, warnen.

4) before rb (very likely, though it cannot be established from the rhymes): starb, verdarb, erwarb, farb; verdirb, stirb, wirb, verdürb, mürb, stürb, erwürb; sturb, erwurb.

a) The following similarly may have lengthened vowel: verderben, scherben, sterben, werben, erben; verdirbt, stirbt, wirbt; verderbt, ersterbt, sterbt; verdorben, gestorben, erworben.

5) before r + dental: bart, hart, wart 'warte; wurde'; pferd, erd, schwert, wert (adv.), hert 'Härte,' hirt, wirt, wird,

bürd, würd; dort, fort, hort, mord, ort, pfort, wort (these words with -ort never rhyme with -orrt, which have retained short vowel; cf. § 8.2dla2); wurd, geburt.

a) Very likely the following also have lengthened vowel (cf. Moser, § 49.II.2): harz, schwarz, warz, aufwärts; herz, scherz, schmerz; kürz, stürz, würz; kurz, schurz. Also: farzer, karzer; herzen, scherzen, kürzen, schürzen, stürzen; verkurtzt, gesturtzt; dorten, orden, orten, worten; erden, werden, geferten, pferden, begerten; barten, farten, garten, harten, karten, etc.; begirden, bewirten.

6) before rg: berg, burg. Very likely also: erwürgen; borgen, sorgen, morgen; borgt, erworgt.

7) before rch: werk (MHG wërch), zwerg (MHG twërch); durch.

a) Also lengthened are: kirchen; forcht, horcht.

b) When Ayrrer rhymes 'Werk' with k-sound, the preceding vowel is short; cf. below, § 9.2a).

8) before rst (very likely; cf. Moser, § 49.II.2): dürst, gedürst, fürst 'Fürst,' würst 'Würste'; durst, wurst. Likewise: bürsten, dürsten, fürsten.

9) before rsch (very likely): birsch, zerknirsch, hirsch. Also: hirschen, birschen.

10) before rf (not certain): scharf, darf; scherf, dörf.

§ 9 Retention of MHG short vowels

According to his rhymes Ayrrer retained MHG short vowel

1. in closed position in dissyllabic words before two or more consonants (geminate and a combination of consonants). -This agrees with the situation in modern Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 130.2) and Bg (cf. Batz, § 140.1):

a. before ll, lb, ld, lt, lg, lk, lch, lf: allen, fallen, gallen, knallen, lallen, wallen, etc.; keller, teller; grillen, stillen, willen, crocodillen, erfüllen; salben, alben; selber, gelber, denselben, gelben; alter, halter, kalter, verwalter, balden, falten, halten, erkalten, spalten, walten; felden, gelten, helden, welden, schelten, selten, welten; golten, gescholten, besolden, sollten, wollten; schulter, multer, dulden, hulden, schulden; duldig, schuldig; balgen, galgen, falken, abwalken, zerwalchen; gemolken, wolken; gelfen, helfen.

1) keller and teller rhyme with MHG vâeler, which Ayrer seems to pronounce with shortened vowel (cf. below, § 10.1a).

2) fallen (: zalen); sollen, getrollen, vollen, wollen (: holen, befolen, Polen [43 occurrences]). It appears from these rhymes that Ayrer pronounced the above words with -oll- with lengthened vowel. This is a MG characteristic (cf. Moser, § 49. II.3).

3) Likewise short are: gebildet, gilt, gestillt.

b. before mp, mpf: semper, gemper, exempel, Hempel, tem-pel; dempfen, kempfen.

1) Also short: gedempft, kempft, gestempft.

c. before nn, nd, nt, ng, nk: bannen, dannen, mannen, pfannen, anspannen, tyrannen, futterwannen; brinnen, hinnen, rin-nen, sinnen, spinnen, gewinnen, zinnen, etc.; günnen, künnen; brunnen, nunnen, sunnen, gewunnen; andern, wandern, handel, kandel, mantel, anden 'ahnden,' banden, giganten, handen, bekannten, lan-den, etc.; binder, finder, hinder, kinder, linder; sünder, blindern, hindern, etc.; verhindert, plündert; binden, erblinden, dinten, finden, hinden, kinden, linden, sünden, künt, etc.; blunder, jetzunder, munder, etc.; hundert, besundert, gefunden, kunden, kunten, stunden, gesunden, etc.; anger, schwanger; angel, mangel; fangen, gangen, langen, schlangen, danken, kranken; bringen, dingen, ringen, schlingen, singen, sinken, stinken; gedrungen, jungen, gesungen, bedunken, getrunken, versunken.

1) The following also belong here: fangt, langt; bind, brinnt, grint, gesinnt, brünnt, fünd, günnt, künt, anzünd; fang, sang; bring, sing, versink, ertrink; bringt, bedingt, klingt, singt, springt, zwingt; konnt, brannt.

2) When find rhymes with dient it undoubtedly rhymes with lengthened vowel.

3) gewonnen (: krönen, patrōnen) seems to have lengthened vowel beside short vowel; likewise gewinnen when it rhymes with verdienen.

d. before pp: kappen, klappen, lappen, sappen; doppel, Constantinoppel, koppen, schoppen; kluppen, schnuppen.

e. before tt, ts: spötter, retter, fetter 'Onkel,' ket-ten, metten, erretten, bestetten; bitter, mitter, zitter, mittel, tittel, capittel; batzen, fatzen, fratzen, katzen, etc.; ergetzen, hetzen, letzen, metzen, setzen, gesetzen, wetzen, götzen; blitzen, hitzen, schlitzen, nützen, sprützen; aufmutzen, nutzen, schmutzen,

beschmutzen.

1) The following also belong here: getzt, gehetzt, ver-
letzt, setzt; erhitzt, sitzt.

2) ketten, metten, erretten, etc. rhyme with the pret.
subj. of haben and tun which here have short vowel: hetten,
tetten.

3) retter rhymes once (with lengthened vowel ?) with
guttäster. ritter (MHG ritære, not MHG ritter) has long vowel,
since it rhymes only with nider, wider (cf. above, § 8.1b7a).

f. before ck: fackel, tabernackel, backen, hacken,
knacken, nacken, packen, zwacken; gegecker, lecker, necker, hecker,
leckern, becken, blecken, decken, ecken, klecken, rechen, secken,
schmecken, schrecken, stecken, strecken, wecken, röcken; erblicken,
flicken, erquicken, schicken, sticken, stricken, bücken, drücken,
glücken, schmücken, stücken; docken, glocken, knocken, erschrocken;
bucken, brucken, jucken, rucken, schmucken, zucken.

1) The following belong here: gebeckt, geschleckt,
steckt, confect, bleckt, entdeckt, befleckt, kleckt, erschreckt,
steckt, gestreckt, weckt; erblickt, flickt, geschickt, gedrückt,
geglückt; gedruckt, geruckt, geschmuckt, entzuckt.

2) When schlegt, legt, pflegt, tregt, and wigt 'wiegt'
rhyme with k-sound, they likewise have short vowel.

g. before cht, chs: gelechter, wechter, rechter, fechten,
knechten, rechten, nechten; mechtig; dichten, richten, nichten,
vernichten, pflichten, besichten, bösewichten, etc.; echzen,
lechzen, nichsen, büchsen.

h. before ss, st: basser, nasser, wasser, gassen, fas-
sen; besser, messer, essen, fressen, gessen, messen, besessen,
gesessen, vergessen; schlüssel, rüssel, wissen, küssen, gebissen,
beflissen, geflissen, gerissen, beschissen, geschmissen, gewissen;
verdrossen, geflossen, gegossen, geschlossen, possen; lastern,
pflastern, basten, fasten, kasten, rasten, besten, festen, gesten,
kesten, mesten, westen 'wüssten.' And likewise: frist, vergist,
pist, wist, rüst, gewist.

1) gassen rhymes once (with lengthened vowel ?) with auf-
blasen; wissen rhymes 5 times (with lengthened vowel ?) with lies-
sen, füssen.

i. before ff: affen, gaffen, klaffen, pfaffen, schaffen;
ergriffen, pfiffen; hoffen, offen, gesoffen, getroffen. Also:
gafft, geschafft.

1) gegriffen (: liefen) and büffeln (: schliefeln) also seemingly rhyme with lengthened vowel.

j. before pf: schepfen 'schöpfen,' köpfen, klopfen, tropfen.

2. in closed position in MHG monosyllabic words before a combination of two consonants, excluding geminates (cf. above, § 8.2b), and before consonant clusters:

a. before rk: mark, stark, sark 'Sarg'; merk, sterk, werk (MHG wërc); also: stark-en, vermark-en.

1) Ayrer knows both MHG wërch and wërc. He pronounces the former with lengthened vowel, the latter with original short vowel. This rule, that short vowel before (r)ch is lengthened and before (r)k remains short explains the short vowel in arg (written argk) and the long vowel in burg, for the former rhymes with stark, mark, the latter with durch.

b. before lb, ld, lt, lg, lk, ls, lf: halb, kalb; selb, gelb; bald, kalt, alt, wald; feld, geld, welt, zelt 'Zelt,' held; bild, mild, schild, wild; gold, hold, sold; geduld, huld, schuld, bolz, holz; balg, falk, schalk, balgs, schalks, als, hals, noch-mals; wolf, Ludolf.

1) alt and gestalt (: mâlt) rhyme occasionally, so it seems, with lengthened vowel. schuld rhymes once with bult 'buhlt,' presumably with lengthened vowel.

c. before md, mpf: hemd, fremd; dampf, kampf; glimpf, schimpf, strümpf.

d. before nd, ng, nk, nst, nft: blind, kind, lind, rind, geschwind, sind, gesind, wind, sünd; bang, drang, fang, gang, lang, gesang, krank, dank, trank, ding, ring; festung, genung, ordnung, sprung, etc.; trunk; brunst, dunst, gunst, kunst, sunst; kunft, zunft, vernunft.

1) kind rhymes 3 times (with lengthened vowel ?) with dient. This rhyme also occurs in Harsdörffer and S. von Birken (cf. Neumann, p. 276).

e. before ts: fratz, platz, ratz, schatz, tratz; letz, metz, pletz, schetz, geschwetz, setz, gesetz; hitz, sitz, witz, spritz.

f. before ck, cks, kt: hack, pack, sack, schrack, stack; dreck, fleck, speck, steck, zweck, beck, kleck, seck, erstreck, böck; blick, dick, schick, verschlick, erschrick, strick, flück, glück, zurück; bock, knock, rock, schock, stock; zottfax, stracks,

crucifix, glücks, drucks; edict.

g. before cht, chts, chs: acht, lacht, macht, pracht, schlacht, tracht, wacht; geschlecht, fecht, knecht, recht, gewchwecht; dicht, ficht, gicht, nicht, pflicht, bericht; rechts, schlechts, geschlechts, angesichts, nichts; ungemachs, wax (MHG wahs), erwachs, nix 'nichts,' fuchs, luchs.

h. before st: ast, fast, gast, rast, etc.; best, fest, gewest; bist, Christ, frist 'Frist,' ist, jurist, list, mist; frost, kost, post.

1. before ft: behaft, eigenschaft (and other words with -schaft), kraft; geschefft.

j. before pf: knopf, kopf, topf, tropf.

3. in closed position in MHG monosyllabic words only before the single consonant sch (this undoubtedly is due to the fact that behind sch are originally two consonants, sk; cf. above, § 8.1c): erhasch, tasch, wasch, gezasch; genesch, esch, verzesch, resch, wesch; fisch, frisch, tisch.

b. Long vowels and diphthongs

§ 10 Shortening of MHG long vowels and diphthongs

Ayrer's rhymes suggest shortening of MHG long vowel and diphthong in agreement with specific dialects as follows:

1. Long vowels āe, â, ê, ī, ô, and ôe are shortened

a. before lt: felt 'fehlt,' strelt 'strählt.' This shortening of long vowel before l is common in MG, Nb, and NB (cf. Moser, § 50.I.6). Modern Nb has both long and short vowel for 'fehlt' (cf. Gebhardt, § 137.1).

b. before m: jammer (< MHG jâmer [: kammer]). Shortening before nasal is a characteristic of MG and occurs sporadically in B (cf. Moser, § 50.I.4). MHG jâmer is not attested for Nb. If this dialect had it, it would undoubtedly have short vowel, for shortening of long vowel or diphthong set in before consonant + er (cf. Gebhardt, § 132.1a). Furthermore, Nb has retention of short vowel in MHG kamer (cf. Gebhardt, § 126.1). In modern Bg MHG jâmer has shortened vowel (cf. Batz, § 65.5) and MHG kamer retained its short vowel (cf. Batz, § 134.1).

c. before nt: hant (MHG hânt 'sie haben') : land, ge-nannt, ausgesandt, wand.

d. before pp: dapp (to MHG tâpe 'Tatze') : lapp 'ein-

fältiger Mensch'; ertappen (to MHG tâpen) : kappen, klappen, lap-pen, sappen. -Also: ertappt : abt, gehabt.

e. before bt: gabt (: abt, habt, gehabt).

f. before ck in dissyllabic eckel (MG êckel; MG ê < Gmc ai) : seckel.

g. before ch in dissyllabic words and before cht: rachen (: machen, drachen); ewiglichen (MHG -lichen : gewichen); bracht, dacht, empfacht (: macht, pracht, schlacht, tracht, wacht, etc.); brecht (MHG brâecht), decht, durchecht (MHG durchâecht), gesch-mecht (MHG gesmâecht) rhyme with recht, schlecht, mecht, Albrecht; brechten (pret. subj. 'bringen') rhymes with nechten, rechten; durchechtung (: anfechtung). These words with shortened vowel have short vowel in modern Nb as well as Bg (cf. Gebhardt, § 132.2aß; Batz, § 148.2aß). Shortening of long vowel before ch is characteristic of B and only to a small extent of EFr during ENHG times (cf. Moser, § 50.I.2).

1) In freundlich, Ulrich, etc., MHG -liche and -riche > lich and rich which further > lîch, rîch (cf. above, § 8.2b6a).

h. before ss (=MHG -z-) in dissyllabic words and before st (=MHG -zt): lassen, strassen, dermassen : gassen, fassen, has-sen (39 occurrences); sessen (pret. subj. 'sitzen'), truchsessen : essen, ermessen; grossen, geschossen : possen. -The Pegnitz poets have short vowels for MHG stôzen, verslôzen (cf. Neumann, pp. 244, 245, 346). The present Nb dialect has forms with long and short vowel for MHG lâzen, strâzen, grôzen (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 69, 117.2, 131, note 1, 195.1c; cf. also Moser, § 50.I.2); modern Bg has short vowel for MHG lâzen (cf. Batz, § 148.c). hast, last (: ast, fast, gast); lest 'lässt' (: fest, gewest); hest 'hättest' (: ge-west, best); gröst (MHG grôëzt) : best. -Nb has short vowel be-side long for these forms (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 69, 115, note 2, 131, note 1). Bg, on the other hand, has only short vowels for these words (cf. Batz, §§ 148.2aß, 148.2bß). Shortening of long vowel before MHG z (zz) is characteristic of B and to some extent of EFr during the ENHG period (cf. Moser, § 50.I.2).

1. before f in dissyllabic words and before ft: grafen, schlafen, strafen, waffen (MHG wâfen) rhyme with affen, gaffen, klaffen, pfaffen, schaffen; straft : behaft, -schaft; schleift 'schläft' : geschefft. The Pegnitz poets have similar rhymes with shortened vowel: slâfen : schaffen, slâft : schaft; cf. also: tiefen, liefen : schiffen; ruoft : gruft (cf. Neumann, pp. 233,

239-41, 274-75, 346). Shortening of long vowel before f is typical of B (cf. Moser, § 50.I.2). The rule in modern Nb is that long vowel before f remained long (cf. Gebhardt, § 132.1c). However, some words with original long vowel before f do occur with short vowel, but these are not properly dialectal (cf. Gebhardt, § 131, note 1). Modern Bg has short vowel for MHG strâfen and long vowel for MHG slâfen (cf. Batz, § 148.c).

2. Diphthongs:

a. MHG ie, uo, üe are shortened to i (<ī), u (<ū), ī (<ī = unrounding of ū) respectively in agreement, it seems, with EFr at Ayren's time and to a large extent with Nb at the present day:

1) before nasal: immer, nimmer : gewimmer, zimmer; stünd (MHG stüent) : kind, geschwind; unterstünden : findon; stund (MHG stuont) : befund, gesund, grund, rund; ging, hing : bring, ding, geling, ring, sing, etc.; finger, gingen, hingen : bringen, dingen, schwingen, singen. -This is a characteristic of MG and to some degree of EFr during the ENHG period (cf. Moser, § 50.III.2). Modern Nb has shortened vowel for MHG niemer (cf. Gebhardt, § 132.1a).

2) before ts: jetz : hitz, schwitz, sitz, nütz; jetzen : nützen, beschützen, sprützen; jetzt : hitzt, sitzt. ie-diphthong in MHG ieze and its various compound forms is shortened in EFr in ENHG times (cf. Moser, § 50.III.2). Present Nb has diphthong for accented, short vowel for unaccented usage (cf. Gebhardt, § 85, note 2); modern Bg seems to have only shortened form for MHG ie e (cf. Batz, § 77.3).

3) before guttural: trüg (pret. subj. MHG tragen) : glück; fügt : geschickt. It has been shown above (§ 8.2a8b-c; cf. also below, § 20.2-3), that short vowel remained short before ck; the above rhymes demonstrate that even diphthongs (and long vowels) are shortened before ck.

4) before cht: licht, umziecht 'umzieht' : bericht, gericht, nicht. The Pegnitz poets have short vowel for MHG suocht (cf. Neumann, p. 268). In modern Nb MHG diphthong is regularly shortened before ch+t; there are, however, a few exceptions among which is MHG lieht (cf. Gebhardt, § 132.2aβ). Present Bg has short vowel for MHG lieht (cf. Batz, § 148.2aβ).

5) before st: musst, tust : lust, sust, wust 'wusste.' The Pegnitz poets have short vowels for MHG diphthongs in the

following words: grüsst, geniest, stiessen (cf. Neumann, pp. 228, 258, 269, 346). Neumann (cf. p. 271) considers the vocalic sound in Harsdörffer's rhymes of wust, lust : tust, ruhst to be ū. EFr in ENHG times seems to have short vowel in the words musst and tust (cf. Moser, § 50.III.2). The present Nb dialect does not have short vowel for these words (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 381.1, 383.2) while Bg does (cf. Batz, § 148.2aβ).

b. MHG ei and ou are shortened to a and o respectively:

1) zeichen : machen. The Nb dialect has tsax̣ (cf. Gebhardt, § 81.1bβ).

2) meister : laster. The Nb dialect has masṭ besides māsṭ (cf. Gebhardt, § 132.2aβ).

3) geloſſen (MHG geloufen) : hoffen, offen, gesoffen, getroffen. Nb has gloſ̣ (cf. Gebhardt, § 397, note 1).

§ 11 Retention of MHG long vowels and diphthongs

According to his rhymes Ayrrer seems to have retained long vowels and diphthongs in all other words (cf. catalogue of rhymes). This is even the case for MHG muoter for which modern Nb has both diphthong and short vowel (cf. Gebhardt, § 79.1) while Bg has only short vowel (cf. Batz, § 148.a).

B. CONSONANTISM

(Consonants following the rhyme-vowels)

§ 12 MHG j

In Ayrrer's rhymes MHG j is lost after a vowel or diphthong in final or medial position: frü, kü, brü (MHG brüeje), mü (MHG müeje), brü(h)en, ble(h)en, etc. This is similar to the situation in present Nb and Bg (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 86.1, 170.16; Batz, § 87.1).

1. Originally unstressed foreign -je > ī: glori (MHG glorje), histori, memori. In the Nb dialect the older generation pronounced this j as i, as, for example, in famīli, khamédi 'Komödie' (cf. Gebhardt, § 86.4aα); the younger generation, on the other hand, pronounces it as j, as, for example, Itālijen 'Italian,' reliġijōn 'Religion' (cf. Gebhardt, § 86.4aβ).

§ 13 MHG w

1. In Ayrrer's rhymes MHG w is lost

a. after stressed vowel or diphthong: freu (vröüwe), heu (höüwe), treu (triuwe), ru (ruowe), au (ouwe), frau (vrrouwe), hau (houwe), strau (strouwe), reu (riuwe), trau (MG trûwe), bau (bûw), grauen (grûwen 'Grauen machen'), neuren (niuwern), speien (spiwen), bleuen (bliuwen), erfreuen (ervröüwen), keuen (kliuwen), breur (briuwer 'Brauer'), grauen (grâwen; obl. cases 'grau'), greul (griuwel), bleul (bliuwel 'Bläuel'), beulen (biuweln), bauen (bûwen), etc. This is in agreement with the Nb and the Bg dialects (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 88.1, 170.10, 170.11b-15, 170.18-19; Batz, § 89.1).

b. after r and l: gar (MHG garo < garw-), schmir (MHG smirwe), schmiren (MHG smirwen), mel (MHG mëlo < mëlw-). This agrees with the situation in Nb and Bg (cf. Gebhardt, § 88, note 6; Batz, § 89.3).

2. MHG w > b

a. after a vowel l in final position: hieb (MHG hiew), leb (lêwe 'Löwe'), blab (blâw-), grab (grâw-), pfab (pfâw-). Sachs has blab and grab (cf. Sommer, p. 64; Frommann, p. 61). The present Nb dialect has lëb 'Löwe' (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 58.1, 88, note 1) but grau, blau (cf. Gebhardt, § 65.3).

2) intervocalically: leben (lêwen 'Löwen'), pfaben (pfâwen). The Nb dialect has lēm (that is, by assimilation, -wen becomes m; cf. Gebhardt, §§ 65.3, 88, note 1, 310). The form leben for löwen occurs in Sachs' language (cf. Sommer, p. 64; Frommann, p. 61). This form appears in rhyme (with heben), moreover, well into the seventeenth century, especially among the Nürnberg poets (cf. Neumann, p. 285).

b. after r and l: mürb (mürwe), farb (varwe), herb (härwe), ferben (värwen), gelb (gëlw-), gelber (gëlwer), gelben (gëlben). This agrees with present ModGer. The Nb dialect has gëlb (< MHG gëlw-) beside gël (< MHG gëlo), farb, and härb (cf. Gebhardt, § 88.3 and note 6; cf. also § 24). The Bg dialect has gëlp (cf. Batz, § 89.3a; cf. also § 16). In both dialects intervocalic lw and rw remained (cf. Gebhardt, § 88.3; Batz, § 89.2b).

§ 14 MHG r

1. r remains r and rr > r: narr (: Lucar), harrn (: er-fahrn), narrn, harrrt, narrt, schnarrt, blerr, ferr, herr, ver-sperrrt, irr, geschirr, verdorrn, unverworrn. Similarly in the Nb

and Bg dialects (cf. Gebhardt, § 90.1-2; Batz, § 91.2).

2. r is added: dar (MHG dâ, dô), spreur 'Spreu' (cf. Götze), geschrirn (part. 'schreien'). The addition of r in the latter word is also found in B (cf. Weinhold, §§ 161, 163; cf. also Michels, § 257).

3. r > ch in the rhyme hart : anbracht 'angebracht.' The r in hart is undoubtedly uvular in nature. Such an r occurs in B-Au and not too infrequently in Nb writings, for example, in the Nb chronicles (I, p. 404; II, p. 156), and in Stromer. It occurs often in Sachs (cf. Weinhold, § 164). In modern south Bavarian dialects hachd 'hart' is heard (cf. Schmeller EWb, I, p. 95; Weinhold, § 164).

4. r is lost: kurz (: trutz), hie (beside hier), me (beside mer 'mehr'). Sachs also knows the loss of r in final position in the above words as well as before dental in the following: hüt : verfürt, fürst : gerüst, wirt : nit (cf. Sommer, p. 67). Such loss of r in final position and before dental occurred very early in B (cf. Weinhold, § 162). In present Bg r is likewise lost under these conditions with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. Batz, §§ 91.3a, 91.4). Very likely loss of r is the explanation for the rhyme frisch : teufelsarschwirsch. Loss of r before sch also occurs in B (cf. Weinhold, § 155).

§ 15 MHG l

l remains l and ll > l: hell, schnell (: kel 'Kehle,' mel 'Mehl'), gefallen, etc. This agrees with the Nb and the Bg dialects (cf. Gebhardt, § 89; Batz, § 90).

§ 16 MHG m

1. m remains m and mm > m, for example, schwenmen, geschwummen. This agrees with Nb and Bg (cf. Gebhardt, § 91; Batz, § 93).

2. m > n a) in final position after unaccented vowel: besen (bësem[e]), boden (bodem), brosen (brôs[e]me), faden (vadem), gaden (gadem); and b) in sand for samt < MHG sament. Sachs has the identical forms (cf. Frommann, p. 66). This tallies with the situation in Nb and Bg (cf. Gebhardt, § 92; Batz, § 94.2). The change of final m to n, which occurred in MHG times in B (cf.

Weinhold, § 169a), no doubt explains the rhyme: Rom : mann as well as the rhyme amt : benannt; diesem occurs once in rhyme with risen 'Riesen.' The -m : -n rhyme is rather a frequent occurrence in Sachs' rhymes (cf. Sommer, p. 64).

§ 17 MHG n

1. n remains n, even in turn (MHG turn 'Turm') and nn > n: brenn (: gewen 'gewöhne'), bannen, mannen, pfannen (: fanen, hanen, schwanen), etc.

2. n is added in: genung, meinst (MHG meist), nun (MHG nu), sunst (MHG sus[t]), fern (MHG vörre). The addition of n in these words occurs as early as the LMHG period (cf. Behaghel, p. 298; Moser Einf., § 126). Sachs has the same forms (cf. Frommann, p. 65).

3. n is lost in: feind (: leut). According to Weinhold (cf. § 116; cf. also Schmeller MB, §§ 564-68), loss of n before consonant (usually dental) with nazalization of preceding vowel is a characteristic of B. He lists: Fa~d, Frei~d, Me~sch, etc.

§ 18 MHG b--p

MHG b was voiceless lenis in HG since MHG times (cf. Michels, § 112). The changes it underwent in the dialects depends upon its position in the word. Thus intervocalic b > w in MG (twelfth century) and in B (thirteenth to fourteenth century); it remained b in the other dialects, as, for example, in A1 and, to a large extent, in EFr (cf. Moser Einf., § 95). What Ayer's pronunciation of b was cannot be known with certainty; his rhymes only suggest his pronunciation.

1. b and p in medial position.

There is no definite evidence from his rhymes which indicates how Ayer pronounces b in medial position, whether as voiceless lenis, in agreement with the Bg dialect (cf. Batz, § 115), or as voiceless fortis, in agreement with the Nb dialect (cf. Gebhardt, § 110). The fact that Ayer never rhymes words like MHG knaben and gäben with MHG ertâpen 'ertappen' must not be considered evidence that he distinguished between intervocalic b and p. The explanation for this, rather, undoubtedly lies in the fact that for him the vowels in these words were quantitatively dissimilar (cf. above, § 8.1b5, § 10.1d). Rhymes like geben :

leben give no indication of the phonetic nature of b. Isolated rhymes, however, suggest that Ayrer may very likely have pronounced -ben as m̥ or m which would be in total agreement with the Nb or Bg dialects respectively (cf. Gebhardt, § 110.2; Batz, § 113.1b). Compare the following rhymes:

a. geben : wegen. In present Nb these words would rhyme as follows: gēm̥ : wēm̥ (cf. Gebhardt, § 49.6; p. 315, note 1) and in Bg as: gēm : wēm (cf. Batz, § 113.1b; cf. § 16, also § 125.2). The rhyming of m with n is not unknown to Ayrer (cf. above, § 16.2).

b. allenthalben : allen. It is hardly likely that we have here a case of assimilation of lb > ll, despite the early sporadic occurrence of sellin 'selben' in B (cf. Weinhold, § 159). Rather, the explanation seems again to be sought in the loss of b by assimilation with the ending -en. Thus, -ben > m̥ (or m). Hence halben would be pronounced in Nb as *hal̥m (cf. Gebhardt, § 110.2) and in Bg as *halm (cf. Batz, § 113.1b). Though allen is not attested for either Nb or Bg, it most likely would take the form *al̥n in Nb (parallel to fal̥n 'fallen'; cf. Gebhardt, § 23, note 2) and *aln in Bg (parallel to faln; cf. Batz, § 90.2). Sachs likewise has such rhymes: allenthalbm : qualm; daselbm 'dasselben' : helm (cf. Sommer, p. 64). Sachs' orthography, moreover, suggests that his rhymes, as well as Ayrer's, are to be pronounced -lm : -lm.

c. barben : arm. The same explanation very likely holds for this rhyme, that is, fusion of b and -en to m̥ or m. This would give the rhyme: bar̥m : arm, which is exactly how these words would rhyme in the Bg dialect (cf. Batz, § 113.1b). In Nb, on the other hand, these words would rhyme as follows: *bar̥m : arm (cf. Gebhardt, § 54.2); MHG barben is not attested for Nb, but cf. stārm (MHG stērbēn; cf. Gebhardt, § 110.2). Sachs has a similar rhyme: verderbm 'verderben' : geschwerm (cf. Sommer, p. 64).

Nor is there definite evidence from the rhymes to indicate how Ayrer pronounces b before l and r. übel, fieber, lieber, selben in both the Nb and Bg dialects are pronounced with w-sound (cf. Gebhardt, § 110.1; Batz, § 113.1).

2. MHG mb > mm (> m) in agreement with the Nb dialect (cf. Gebhardt, § 108) and ModGer: dumm, drumm, un, drummen (MHG drumben 'Fommein'), kummer, zimmer.

3. b > p before t and st in agreement with the Nb dialect

(cf. Gebhardt, § 110.3; cf. also "Nachtrag," § 18.9): glaubt, raubt, taubt : haupt (MHG houbet); gibt, geliebt : gesippt (MHG gesippede 'Verwandtschaft'); abt, habt : ertapt; habst : papst. This likewise is the situation in Sachs' language (cf. Frommann, p. 45).

§ 19 MHG d--t

According to his rhymes and in agreement with the situation in HG since MHG times (cf. Moser Einf., § 97) MHG d and t, intervocalically and in final position, are the same sound for Ayrrer, a voiceless stop. Whether this voiceless stop is lenis or fortis (it must be one or the other, for fortis and lenis do not rhyme as pure sounds; cf. Moser Einf., § 97) cannot be determined from his rhymes with certainty. Evidence from orthography, however, suggests that d and t in intervocalic position and after n and l is lenis (where d often appears for t), that d and t in final position is fortis (where t often appears for d). This seems to be the distinction Sachs makes (cf. Sommer, pp. 61-62). It is a distinction which is typical of Bg (cf. Batz, §§ 117-21) but not entirely so of Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 115).

1. Ayrrer rhymes intervocalic d with t as follows (as voiceless lenis?): hader : vater; gnaden : braten, taten; baden, faden : statten; leder : verreter; beden 'beiden' : heten, teten; reden : erretten, tretten, betten, treten, gebeten; nider, wider : ritter; glider : gemüter; brüder : geblüter, güter, behüter; friden, vermiden, geschiden, schmiden : bitten, geliten, geriten, schlitten; bruder : mutter; beider : schleiter; meiden, eiden, kleiden, leiden : arbeiten, bereiten; pferden : begerten; begirden : zierten; würden : bewirten; orden : pforten; balden : verwalten; besolden : gescholten, sollten, wollten; anden, banden, handen, landen : giganten, helefant, trabanten; blinder, finder : winter; binden, finden : dinten. Sachs has the same rhymes (cf. Sommer, pp. 61-62). Harsdörffer, S. von Birken, and Omeis, with an occasional exception, avoid rhyming intervocalic d with t; the younger Pegnitz poets, Fürer and Riederer, on the other hand, rhyme -d- : -t- freely (cf. Neumann, p. 286).

2. In final position (as voiceless fortis?): gnad : gat, hat, tat; bad, rad, schad : blat, stat; frid, abschid, schmid : bit, dritt, litt, mit, nit; jud : blut, gut, tut; leid, beid, scheid : heut, zeit, arbeit; mord : dort, fort, hort; schuld :

bult; end, elend, hend, send, stend : kennt, nennt, rent, zer-
trennt, argument; blind, kind, sind : brinnt; feind, freund, seind :
greint, heint, meint. Sachs (cf. Sommer, pp. 61-62) as well as
the Pegnitz poets have the same rhymes. Harsdörffer, however, does
not rhyme too freely -nd : -nt, -ld : -lt, -rd : -rt (cf. Neumann,
pp. 287-89).

3. Loss of dental:

a. loss of d (by assimilation):

1) rd > rr > r: wer 'werde,' bür (MHG bürde), wür 'würde,'
wur 'wurde'; ern 'Erden,' wern 'werden,' ermörn 'ermorden,' orn
'Orden,' worn 'geworden,' werst 'werdest.' Similarly, rid > rd >
rr > r: pfer (MHG phär[1]d, not MHG phär[1]t). Sachs' rhymes
show loss of d in exactly the same words as those above (cf. Som-
mer, p. 63; Frommann, pp. 54-55). The Nb dialect knows loss of d
after r only in MHG phär[1]d and the forms of the verb wërden (cf.
Gebhardt, § 112.3d). The Bg dialect knows it only in the verb
wërden (cf. Batz, § 117.3c). The Swab dialect agrees with Bg in
this respect (cf. Kauffmann, § 149, note 2). Ay rer, to be sure,
also knows the forms with -d.

2) ld > ll (> l): mellen (MHG mëlden). Sachs knows this
form (cf. Sommer, p. 63). Apparently neither Nb (cf. Gebhardt,
§ 112.3c) nor Bg (cf. Batz, § 117.3b) know the assimilation of
ld > ll > l for MHG mëlden; it is worthy of note that the DWb does
not mention such an assimilation for the word in question nor
does it list the form mellen. Since Gmc. þ is behind d in OHG
meldan, MHG mëlden, we seem to have here a case parallel with the
assimilation of Gmc. nþ (> nd) > nn > n (cf. below, § 19.3a4).

3) med > md > mm (> m): frem 'fremd' (: wem). frem
seems to be an old Nb form which has since been displaced by
fremd (cf. Gebhardt, § 112.3b). Sachs has a parallel rhyme: hem
(MHG hemede 'Hemd') : dem (cf. Sommer, p. 62). Ay rer also knows
the form fremd; he rhymes it with hemd. But it is not improbable
that in the latter rhyme we have to deal with traditional orthog-
raphy: Ay rer, like Sachs, may have pronounced hemd without the
final d.

4) nd > nn (> n): finn (MHG vind, not vinde), finnen
'finden,' finst 'findst,' gefunden 'gefunden'; jetzunnan. The
assimilation of nd > nn in the above words unquestionably has its
origin before the ENHG period and appears in the dialects of WMG
and in certain UG dialects, for example, in Nb, but not in B! (cf.

Moser Einf., § 109). It is to be noted that the assimilation takes place only in MHG nd < OHG nd < Gmc. nþ and not in MHG nd < OHG nt. Thus OHG findan and ieze-un-dann (cf. DWb) show loss of d by assimilation not only in Ay rer's rhymes but also in Sachs' (cf. Sommer, p. 62; cf. also Frommann, p. 54), while OHG bintan (MHG binden), OHG wintan (MHG winden), OHG gestantan (MHG gestanden), etc., never show assimilation. This also holds true for Nb and Bg (cf. Gebhardt, § 112.3a; Batz, § 117.2).

b. loss of t: heisst : fleiss; markt : arg, sark, stark; artzt : schwarz; gich (MHG gih) : sich; nix 'nichts' : Felix; and most likely in habt : schlap (?). This loss of t after certain consonants was not unusual (cf. Moser Einf., § 115). It occurs in Sachs' rhymes (cf. Sommer, p. 63) as well as in the modern dialects of Nb and Bg (cf. Gebhardt, § 115.3ac; Batz, §§ 120.2, 121.2). Ay rer's hest 'hättest' most likely lost its -t due to analogy to hast (< MHG hâ-st, not < MHG hab-st), just as in Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 115, note 2).

4. Addition of dental:

a. addition of d: mond (MHG mân), niemand (MHG nieman), kandel (MHG kannel), inder (MHG inner), mender (MHG männer 'Männer'), dunder (MHG doner), gespan(d)s : finantz. Sachs' rhymes show similar addition of d (cf. Sommer, p. 64). It is just between this n and r or between n and s that d very frequently appears in the Bavarian dialects (cf. Weinhold, §§ 148, 168).

b. addition of t: dechant (MHG tëchan); zinst : gewinnst, verdienst; jetzt (MHG ieze) : hitzt; sust (MHG sus) : brust; sunst (MHG su(n)s) : gunst; palast (MHG palas) : last, rast; pabst (MHG pâbes) : habst.

The addition of d or t in the above words occurs, for the most part, in Sachs' language likewise (cf. Sommer, p. 63; cf. also Frommann, pp. 55-56). It is a frequent occurrence in the fourteenth to the sixteenth century literary languages of HG (cf. Moser Einf., § 124) and, to even a greater extent, in the modern dialects of Nb and Bg (cf. Gebhardt, § 116; cf. also § 113; Batz, § 122; cf. also § 119).

§ 20 MHG g--k

According to his rhymes Ay rer pronounces MHG c(k) as k (except in the ending -ich < MHG -ic) and g as ch or k, depending

for the most part on the quantity of the vowel (not MHG quantity, but Ayrrer's ENHG quantity) which precedes it and to some extent on the position of g in the word. Thus g always > ch after a long vowel (= retained MHG long vowel or lengthened MHG short vowel) or diphthong, except before s when it > k < ch. But after a preceding short vowel (= retained MHG short vowel or shortened MHG long vowel or diphthong) g > k. Again, g is sometimes lost by assimilation. Ayrrer's neat distinctions with respect to g are in almost total agreement with modern Nb and Bg (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 117-21, especially § 121, note 5; Batz, §§ 124-29).

1. k > ch in the ending -ic: traurig, könig, müssig, würdig : mich, sich, verdriesslich.

2. g > ch after long vowel (MHG long vowel or lengthened MHG short vowel) and diphthong:

a. in final position: hag, klag, lag, sag, plag : gemach, sach, schmach, sprach, fach 'fange,' geschach 'geschah'; weg 'Weg' (cf. below, § 20.3a1) : abbrech, ansprech, geschech 'geschehe,' sech 'sehe'; sig, krieg, verlig, müg, füg, trüg : dich, ich, mich; fug, genug, klug, krug : fluch, schuch 'Schuhe,' such, tuch, bruch, spruch; geig, schweig, steig : gleich, reich, -leich; zeug : euch, weich, streich; aug, taug : auch, brauch, rauch (MHG rûhe 'rauh'). Würzburg rhymes with durch; berg rhymes with zwerg (MHG twêrch) and with werk (MHG wêrch, not MHG wêrc). Both Nb and Bg have double forms for 'Werk,' one with ch, the other with k (cf. Gebhardt, § 121, note 2; Batz, § 129, note 1). Sachs, according to Sommer (cf. pp. 65-66), rhymes g : ch only after i. The Pegnitz poets rhyme final g, even in weg (adv.), as a ch-sound (cf. Neumann, pp. 291-94).

b. before t: jagt : acht, macht, gebracht; schlegt : mecht 'möchte'; taugt : braucht. g before t is a ch-sound in the rhymes of the Pegnitz poets (cf. Neumann, pp. 294-95).

3. g > k

a. after short vowel (MHG short vowel and shortened MHG long vowel or diphthong):

1) in final position: mag, tag : nack 'Nacken,' sack (3 occurrences); weg 'Weg, weg' : dreck, fleck, keck, speck, steck, zweck. This rhyme of weg : -k occurs 32 times; in 30 of these weg is the adverb. In both Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 121.4) and Bg (cf. Batz, § 129.1) the adverb weg appears as wêk, that is, with short

vowel and -k; the noun Weg, on the other hand, appears as wēX, that is, with long vowel and -ch, in both Nb and Bg (cf. Gebhardt, loc. cit.; Batz, loc. cit.). With two exceptions then, Ayrrer rhymes 'Weg' and 'weg' in agreement with these dialects. trüg : glück; arg : stark, mark. Here arg is written with -gk and -ck. arg rhymes 25 times with mark and stark (with MHG -k) and once with sark 'Sarg' (MHG sarc, -kes, not MHG sarch in view of the 2 rhymes of sark with stark). Sachs rhymes these words in the same way (cf. Sommer, p. 65; cf. also Frommann, p. 52). balg : falk, schalk; fang, gang, klang, lang, gesang : bank, dank, krank, trank; breng, dreng, eng, meng, gepreng, streng, weng 'wenig' : benk, denk, krenk, senk, schwenk; genung, schlung : trunk; verhengnus, zwengnus (written with -k). The rhyme -ng : -nk is in agreement with the Nb dialect of a few generations ago (cf. Gebhardt, § 121, note 4), though today MHG ng > ŋ and not ŋk, while nk > ŋk. It is likewise in disagreement with the present Bg dialect where ng > ŋ and nk > ŋk (cf. Batz, § 129, note 6).

2) before t: klagt, sagt, gefragt : contract, pact; begeggt 'begegnet', legt, pflegt, schlegt, tregt : bleckt, entdeckt, befleckt, schmeckt, erschreckt, steckt. The present Nb dialect has the forms sakt, šlękt, lękt, etc. for sagt, schlęgt, legt, etc. (note the short vowel !). These forms with k are due to the influence of the 2d sg. forms in k (sakst, šlękst, lękst) which, in turn, are giving way to forms with ch (cf. Gebhardt, § 120, note 11). wigt : erdręckt; fugt : geschluckt; gezwengt, rengt 'regnet' : bedenkt. Unquestionably the lack of rhymes of -ingt (bringt, singt, etc.) with -inkt is due to the fact that the words with -inkt are few: Ayrrer uses stinkt but once in rhyme and then he rhymes it with hinkt. -This situation in Ayrrer agrees with Sachs (cf. Sommer, p. 65; cf. also Frommann, p. 52).

3) before s: balgs : schalks; flugs : drucks, fuchs. This agrees with the Nb dialect where g before s (and st) became fortis k by way of the middle stage ch (cf. Gebhardt, § 120.5). In this dialect ch before s likewise > k (cf. Gebhardt, § 103.2). This, then, must be the explanation of the rhyme flugs : fuchs. Sachs has the identical rhymes (cf. Frommann, p. 52). In Bg g and ch before s > voiceless lenis g (cf. Batz, §§ 107.3, 125.4). In the light of this, no doubt the rhyme wagst : versprachst is to be considered a -kt : -kt rhyme. Most likely sigs, kriegs have ks-sound; the fact that they never rhyme with glücks, nix, crucifix

may be due to the difference in vowel quantity (cf. above, § 16).

4. g in medial position:

a. g+er > ch: klüger : bücher. This is in exact agreement with the Nb and the Bg dialects (cf. Gebhardt, § 120.2a; cf. also § 103.1; Batz, § 125.1; cf. also § 107.1). leger : neher (with retention of ch-sound by analogy to nâch ?; cf. Gebhardt, § 103.1 and p. 320, note 1). On the strength of this it is very likely that g before er > ch in all words, for example, wager, sager, schlager; pflieger, jeger, treger, weger, etc. These words never rhyme with words with MHG ch, as, for example, macher, brecher, etc., wholly because of the difference in vowel quantity.

b. g+el undoubtedly > voiceless lenis g in agreement with the Nb and Bg dialects (cf. Gebhardt, § 120.4; Batz, § 125.3). It is impossible to tell from his rhymes how Ayrer pronounces g before -el. This is partly due to the lack of appropriate rhyme-words: words with MHG -chel are wanting. The rhyme -gel : -chel would seem to be permissible for Ayrer since in both Nb and Bg ch before -el likewise became voiceless lenis g (cf. Gebhardt, § 103.3; Batz, § 107.3). Apart from the quantitative difference in the vowels for Ayrer, a rhyme like MHG vlēgel : säckel would be impossible for him because of the lenis-fortis difference in the guttural stop.

c. g+en may very well have been assimilated to ŋ or ɲ in agreement with the Nb and Bg dialects respectively (cf. Gebhardt, § 120.3; Batz, § 125.2). Compare, for example, the rhyme wegen : geben, where wegen > wēŋ or wēɲ (cf. above, § 18.1a). The numerous rhymes of -gen : -chen after long vowel, diphthong, l, or r may also be direct testimony for this, for Ayrer may have pronounced -chen in these positions as ŋ or ɲ in agreement with the Nb and Bg dialects respectively (cf. Gebhardt, § 103.5; Batz, § 107.4). Ayrer never rhymes -gen with -ken (= OHG -kk-). This is due, most likely, to two factors; the one, a difference in vowel-quantity; the other, that Ayrer seems to have pronounced ken as kɲ (voiceless fortis + ɲ) or gɲ (voiceless lenis + ɲ). The first pronunciation agrees with the Nb dialect (cf. Gebhardt, § 121.3), the latter with Bg (cf. Batz, § 128.1).

Ayrer rhymes: begnügen : kriechen; schweigen : streichen; zeigen : reichen; erwürgen : kirchen. galgen : zerwalchen 'zerprügeln' (UG form with ch, not the regular HG zerwalken; cf. DWb, XIII, col. 1245; Schmeller BWb, II, col. 906; Lexer, III, p. 249);

in present Nb and Bg galgen appears as galiŋ and galin respectively (cf. Gebhardt, § 54.1; Batz, § 125.2) and walchen, were it attested for these dialects, would have the form *waliŋ and *walin respectively (cf. Gebhardt, § 103.5; Batz, § 107.4). In the rhyme schlagen (also written schlahen = MHG slahen, slân) : nahen, fahen 'fangen' (=MHG vahen, vân) where -h- is an orthographic indication of vowel-length, we probably have a rhyme that is to be pronounced somewhat like: schlān : nān, that is, dissyllabically but without guttural nasal (cf. below, § 21.5). jagen, klagen, magen, etc., pflegen, regen, segen, etc., ligen, sigen, fliegen, lügen, mügen, betrügen, fügen, etc., bogen, geflogen, gepflogen, betrogen, etc., never rhyme with bachen, krachen, lachen, machen, ra-chen, etc., brechen, frechen, sprechen, etc., erblichen, verglichen, geschlichen, gestrichen, etc., gebrochen, knochen, pochen, ge-sprochen, etc. due to their quantitative vowel difference. However, the absence of any rhyme of augen, laugen, saugen, taugen (24 occurrences) with brauchen, schlauchen, stauchen (4 occurrences) and the presence of but one -eigen : -eichen rhyme (cf. above) in the face of 63 -eigen : -eigen rhymes and 76 -eichen : -eichen rhymes, suggest that Ayrrer pronounced gen and chen both according to the literary tradition (g as g and ch as ch), as in the examples just enumerated, and according to the Nb or Bg dialect (gen and chen as ŋ or ɣ), as in the rhymes begnügen : kriechen, etc. (cf. above). The Pegnitz poets also rhyme -gen : -chen (cf. Neumann, p. 294).

5. ng+en > ŋ and nk+en > ŋk in agreement with the Nb and the Bg dialects (cf. Gebhardt, § 118, note 1; Batz, § 125, note 8): Ayrrer never rhymes fangen, hangen, schlangen, etc. with danken, kranken, zanken, etc., drengen, hengen, mengen, etc., with denken, krenken, lenken, senken, etc., bringen, gingen, klingen, ringen, etc., with sinken, trinken, etc., gedrungen, jungen, etc., with bedunken, versunken, etc. Nor do the Pegnitz poets ever rhyme -ng : -nk (cf. Neumann, p. 296), though an occasional -ngt : -nkt rhyme occurs in the works of Omeis and Riederer (cf. Neumann, p. 297). The rhyme schlinken : trinken undoubtedly is an -nk : -nk rhyme. Sachs has the identical rhyme (cf. DWb, IX, col. 736). In both instances schlinken has the meaning 'schlucken.' According to the DWb, schlinken goes back to MHG slinden, not slingen, though it owes its guttural to confusion with the latter word. Perhaps, further, the k in schlinken is the result of confusion

of MHG slingen and slinken 'schleichen.' Bahder (Wortwahl, p. 55; cf. also Schmeller BWb, II, 529), on the other hand, suggests that schlinken is the Upper German form of MG schlingen and is to be connected to MHG slicken 'schlingen, schlucken.'

6. g is lost (even in MHG times) by contraction of ege, age, eige > ei; igi > i > ei: leit (MHG ligit), geleit (MHG geleget), jeit (MHG jaget), meit (MHG maget), seit (MHG saget), treit (MHG [ge]trēgede 'Getreide'), geneit (MHG geneiget), umpleit (MHG umplaget), meiten (mageten), verteidigen (MHG vertēgedigen). Sachs also knows these forms (cf. Frommann, p. 56).

7. OHG ck > ch (=UG) in the following: bachen 'backen,' bloch 'Block,' verruucht 'verrückt.' hecker 'Häcker' and knocken (beside UG knochen), however, are MG forms.

8. k is lost in blitzen (MHG blikezen).

§ 21 MHG h--ch

1. In final position MHG h (where h is not lost) and ch are the same ch-sound in Ayrrer's rhymes: geschach, sach 'sah' : bach, lach, mach, stach; hernech 'hernähe,' geschech, sech 'sähe,' gech (MHG gähe 'schnell'), jech (MHG gēch, with MHG -h, 'jäh-zornig'), verjech 'sage' : brech, sprech, frech; befelch : schelch 'scheel'; gich (MHG giht, with loss of -t), sich 'sehe,' vich 'Vieh' : dich, ich, mich, sich, sprich; ziech 'ziehe' : dich; schuch 'Schuh' : tuch; verleich 'verleihe' : reich; fleuch (MHG vliuhe, pres. MHG vliehen), scheuch (MHG schluhe) : euch; rauch (MHG rûh 'rauh') : bauch, brauch. The same rhymes occur in Sachs (cf. Sommer, p. 66).

Beside forms with ch (=MHG h) there occur forms with loss of final h, due, no doubt, to analogy to the forms of the oblique cases, where h was lost: befel, schel, schu (: tu, zu), rau (MHG rûh 'rauh'). This is in agreement with the Nb and the Bg dialects (cf. Gebhardt, § 106, note 1; cf. also § 377.2; Batz, § 110.2 and note 2).

2. MHG h and ch before t are the same sound: ch. This agrees with the Nb and the Bg dialects (cf. Gebhardt, § 103.1; Batz, § 107.1-2): nicht, pflicht, geschicht 'geschieht; Geschichte,' etc. (: bricht, spricht, etc.); angesichts : gerichts : nichts.

ch is lost before t in nit 'nicht.' This occurs in Nb

and Bg (cf. Gebhardt, § 104.1; Batz, § 108.3).

3. MHG h and ch before s > k (i.e., voiceless fortis) in agreement with the dialect of Nb (cf. Gebhardt, § 103.2). Bg has gs; here g is voiceless lenis (cf. Batz, § 107.3). Ayrer has the following: zottfax (MHG -vahs), ungewachs, wax (MHG wahs), erwachs 'erwachse' : stracks, Harpax; büchsen, nixen (MHG nichsen 'Nixe') : nixen 'nichtsen'; fuchs : drucks. k-sound is undoubtedly in ungelachsen, Sachsen, wachsen. This tallies with the situation in Sachs' language (cf. Frommann, p. 52).

t between h and s is lost in nix 'nichts' and in nixen 'nichtsen' (cf. above, § 19.3b); this tallies with the Nb dialect (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 103.2, 104.1).

MHG ch before st, where st is a verbal ending, most likely > kst in agreement with the Nb dialect (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 106.2, 377.2), though this cannot be determined from the rhymes (cf. above, § 20.3a3).

4. Before -el and -er

a. MHG h is lost: beil (b~~f~~hel), rüllen (r~~ü~~helen 'rö-cheln'); seher, schweher, speher, neher. The h in these latter words indicates the length of the vowel. Sachs has the same forms (cf. Frommann, p. 59). This agrees with the Nb and the Bg dialects (cf. Gebhardt, § 106.1; Batz, § 110.1). In the Nb dialect the alternate forms fīX~~er~~ 'Vieher,' hquxn 'hohen' are due to analogy with the ch in the forms fīX (MHG vi[e]) and hqux (MHG hōch) (cf. Gebhardt, § 106, note 1).

b. MHG ch > ch: brecher, stecher, zecher; bücher.

5. MHG h and ch before en:

Ayrer never rhymes -hen with -chen; presumably h in -hen is lost and ch in -chen, even after long vowel, diphthong, r, and l > ch. This does not tally entirely with the Nb dialect where hen > ŷ or a and chen, after long vowel, diphthong, r, and l > ŷ (cf. Gebhardt, § 103.5; cf. also §§ 95, note 9, 106.1,3). Nor does it agree entirely with the Bg dialect where hen > ŷ and chen, after long vowel, diphthong, r, and l > ŷ (cf. Batz, § 107.4a-b; cf. also § 110.3). In both dialects chen after short vowel > chŷ (cf. Gebhardt, loc. cit.; Batz, loc. cit.). Rhymes of -ehen with -ejen (schmehen [with âêh] : drehen [with âêj]) indicate the loss of h. That leihen, weihen, verzeihen never rhyme with gleichen, reichen, schleichen, streichen, zeichnen, etc. indicates the presence of ch for ch+en even after diphthong. sehen, jehen, etc.

never rhyme with brechen, etc. due to the difference in the quantity of the vowel and, presumably, to the fact that chen > chȳ and hen > ȳ or ȳ̇. Ayrrer's distinction between intervocalic h and ch, hence, seems to rest in literary tradition, not in his Nb (and Bg) dialect. Sachs distinguishes in the same manner (cf. Frommann, pp. 59-60).

sehen (ë) never rhymes with den (ö) because the first word is dissyllabic: sēȳ (Nb has sēȳ; cf. Gebhardt, § 106.3) and the second is monosyllabic: dēn.

flehen (MHG vlêhen) and lehen (MHG lêhen), both dissyllabic, rhyme twice with wehen and stehen (MHG wê-n, stên). But in these two isolated cases Ayrrer apparently does not use the originally monosyllabic words stên and wên but rather uses the new "literary" dissyllabic "stehen" (that is, štēon or stēȳ) and "Wehen" (that is, wēon or wēȳ).

6. MHG h > g in schlagen (though slahen occurs twice in rhyme with fahen and nahen). Here the g is due to the g in the preterite and participle forms of MHG slahen.

§ 22 MHG s--ȳ (ȳȳ)

According to his rhymes Ayrrer pronounces both MHG s and ȳ (ȳȳ) everywhere (in final position, after vowel, after consonant) as the same sound, voiceless sibilant. There is no evidence of fortis-lenis distinction; nor is there in the dialects. Sachs does not distinguish between MHG s and ȳ (cf. Sommer, pp. 63-64); neither do the Pegnitz poets (cf. Neumann, pp. 298, 299). Ayrrer's pronunciation agrees with the situation in the dialects of Nb and Bg (cf. Gebhardt, §§ 99-100; Batz, §§ 101-102).

1. In final position: as 'Aas' : strass, lass; glas, has, las : fass, hass; bös, erlös : gröss; erkies : hiess, liess; drüs : füss, süss; los : gross; mos : bloss; eis, leis, reis 'Reise,' speis, weis 'Weise, Waise' : fleiss, heiss, schweiss, weiss; graus, haus, kraus, laus, maus : aus, strauss.

2. Intervocalic s and ȳ (ȳȳ) rhyme together only after qualitatively and quantitatively similar vowel and diphthong (for Ayrrer): blasen : lassen, strassen; risen 'Riesen' : büssen, müssen; losen, mosen (pl. 'Moos') : stossen, grossen; keiser, reiser : heisser; preisen, reisen, weisen : beissen, befleissen, heissen, schmeissen; grausen, hausen, lausen, sausen : draussen.

Dissimilarity in vowel quantity prevents the rhyme -s- : -z̥-. In the -ēsen, -ēzzēn rhyme, for example, -ēsen : -ēsen 104;1 times and -ēzzēn : -ēzzēn 180 times. On the strength of this, it appears that the 5 -ēsen : -ēzzēn rhymes which occur must be considered impure. In all five cases the -ēsen-word is gewesen and it rhymes with gefessen, ermessen, vergessen. Or does Ayrer know two pronunciations for the strong past participle of MHG wēsen, one with short, the other with long vowel? Pronunciation with short vowel could readily arise by confusion with the MHG short vowel in gewest, the weak past participle of MHG gewēsen, which Ayrer pronounces with short vowel (cf. above, § 9.2h). Modern Nb has gwēst (cf. Gebhardt, § 398) which, though Gebhardt does not suggest it, may well have lengthened vowel by analogy to the alternate form gwēs̄n 'gewesen.' Ordinarily short vowel before st remained short in Nb; cf., for example, nēst (Gebhardt, § 58.5), lust (Gebhardt, § 331), mast (Gebhardt, § 130, note 1), pēst (Gebhardt, § 111.1), rēst (Gebhardt, § 58, note 5), post (Gebhardt, § 111.1).

3. MHG intervocalic s > r: friern, verliern. This is analogic, rather than phonetic change. On the other hand, Ayrer has was 'war' beside the usual war. This occurs in Sachs likewise (cf. Sommer, p. 66). The Nb dialect has only the form with r (cf. Gebhardt, § 395).

4. ss > sch: groschen (MHG grosse) : goschen, gedroschen (cf. Paul, II, § 222); holterdrüschel (written -drüssel; to MHG drossen; cf. DWb) : rosenpüschel.

5. s and z̥ after r > sch in agreement with the Nb and the Bg dialects (cf. Gebhardt, § 99.2; § 101.3; Batz, §§ 101.3, 103.2b). The evidence from Ayrer's rhymes is orthographic: birsch, zerknirsch, birschen, with MHG s rhyme with hirsch, hirschen, with MHG z̥.

st after r undoubtedly > scht when st is part of the stem just as in the dialects of Nb and Bg (cf. Gebhardt, § 101.3; Batz, § 103.2b). If st is the 2d person singular verbal ending, it remains st. Thus Ayrer keeps apart wirst (2d pers. 'werden'), fürst 'führst,' spürst on the one hand and dürst 'dürste,' fürst 'Fürst,' würst 'Würste' on the other: in the former group st remains, in the latter st > scht.

§ 23 MHG sch

Ayrer always pronounces MHG sch as sch in agreement with the Nb and Bg dialects (cf. Gebhardt, § 102; Batz, § 106): ge-nesch, fisch, frisch, tisch, lausch, tausch, etc.

§ 24 MHG v--f

According to his rhymes Ayrer makes no distinction between MHG v and f in medial or final position. Whether he pronounces v and f as a fortis fricative in agreement with the Bg dialect (cf. Batz, § 100) or as a lenis fricative in agreement with the Nb dialect (cf. Gebhardt, § 98) cannot be determined from his rhymes: graf : schlaf, straf; bischof, hof : hoff; ofen : hoffen, gesoffen; prüfen (MHG prüeven) : anrufen; feifel (MHG vivel) : teufel (MHG tiuvel) : zweifel (MHG zwivel).

MHG v > b in grübeln (MHG grüveln) : wibeln.

§ 25 MHG pf

MHG pf (ph) remained pf in all places: krappen, zapfen; schepfen, köpfen; knopf, kopf, topf, tropf; klopfen; hupfen, schnupfen, zupfen, etc.

